ANE DETECTIOVN of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane defence of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis graces actioun and authoritie.

Translatit out of the Latine quhilke was written by *G. B.*

Quhairas of thynges iudicially determinit within any dominioun, to haif accompte demandit by strangeris, is to sic as be not subiect to sorane iurisdictionn, baith strange, and also for the strangenesse displeasant, to vs aboue all vther it ought to be most greuous, quha are driuen to this streight of necessitie, that quhase fautes we desire to couer, thair liues we are enforced to accuse, vnlesse we will our selues be accompted the most wicked persons that lyue. But a great part of this grèf, is releued by your equitie (most excellent Quene) quha take it no lesse displeasantly to sée your kinswoman, than we to sée our Quene thus in speche of all men to be dishonorably reported, quha alswa are for your part no lesse desirous to vnderstand the truth, than we for ours to auoide sclaunder. Thairfoir we will knit vp the mater as brèfly as possibly may be, and declare it with sic shortnesse, as we may rather seme to haue lightly runne ouer the chèf pointes than to haue largly expressed tham, begyn-

ryng at the Quenes first inconstancie. For as in making of her mariage, her lightnes was very hedlang & rash, so sodanely followed either inwart repentance, or at least outwart tokens of change of her affection without any causes appearing. For quhair before time the king was not onely neglected but also not honorably usid, at length began open hatred to breake out against him, specially in that winter quhen he went to Peble with small traine euen to meane for the degrée of a priuate man, not being sent thether a halwking, but as commandit away into a corner far frõ counsell and knawledge of publike affaires. Nouther is it necessarie to put in writing those thinges, quhilk as thay were than as a spectacle noted of all mens eyes, sa now as a fresh image thay remane imprintit in all mens hartes. And though this were the beginning of all the euills that followed, yet at the first the practises were secrit, sa as not onely the commoun pepill, but alswa sic as were right familiar and present at the doing of many matters, could not vnderstand throughly, what

thing

thing the Quene than chéefly intended.

At the last about the moneth of Apryll in the yeare 1566. quhan the Quene was returned from Dunbarre to Edinburgh, and was lodged in the castell, she keipt her thare till the time of her trauaile of childe. After her deliuerance immediatly the secret counsels of the intendit mischeif began to breake out, quhairof the effect was this, to dispatch away the king by one way or vther howsoeuer, and to mary with Bothwell. And that her selfe should not be touchit with suspicion of the murder, she began secritly by littil and littill to sow sedes of dissentioun betwene the king and the Lordes that were than in Court, and by mair and mair inflaming tham, to bring the mater to deadly feude. And if at any time she espied the suspicions of the one against the vther to languish, byandby with new reportes to baith partes, she whetted tham on againe to fresch displeasuris, persuading the Nobilitie against the king, and the king against the Nobilitie, that either intendit vthers destruction. And she thought nothing so long as to sée the mater come

to ſtrokes, for douting whether of thā ſhe had rather to haif the victorie, ſhe accounted the loſſe on either ſide for her auantage, as hoping thairby to auance forward one degrée neirer to that quhilk ſhe intendit. Finally in ſhort time ſhe ſo filled all thair hartes with mutuall ialouſies one againſt an vther, that thare was not a man of any reputatioun in the Court, but he was driuen to this neceſſitie, either with diſhonour to yeld to rumors fained againſt him, or to enter into combate with the reporters, or to withdraw him home. And though we ſhall paſſe ouer the reſt for deſire to haſt to the cheif point of the matter, yet this one notable ſclanderous practiſe at that time, is nat to be omitted. For on a time quhen the king had ben in talke with the Quene till it was farre in the night, the ſumme in a maner of all her communicatioun was, that almoſt all the nobilitie had conſpirit his death, & wer deuiſing how to diſpatch him. After the kinges departure from her, ſhe ſent forthwith for the Erle of Murray hir brother, wha after was Regēt, with this meſſage, that the matter was

hainous,

hainous, and necessarily requiring his presence without delay. He being awaked out of sound sleepe, in great feare, cast a night gowne ouer his shirt, and as he was halfe naked ranne to her in hast. To him than she vsed euin the like talke as she had before to the king, informing him that the king boyled in such deadly hatrit against him, and tooke it so displeasantly that he stood so hyely in her grace, that he was fully determinit, so soone as any possible opportunitie serued, to murder him. So, as mekle as in her lay, she left no meane vnassayit to set tham together by the eares, and without all dout had done it in deid, if it had not ben Gods gude pleasure to deliuer the innocent persons frō so perilous treasons, & to disclose her wicked trechery.

Quhen this attempt failed her, she assayit the yong & vnerperienced gentlemā with ane new suttil practise. She earnestly labored him, that quhile she was great with childe, he should chose him some yong gentle woman, quhairof thare was great store, quhose companie he might vse in the meane time. She promised him her assent and furtherance,

The Quene offreth to be bāude to hir owne husband.

therance, with pardon and leaue to cõ-
mit the offence. She named to him the
Erle of Murrayes wife, not for that
she esteemed that most noble Lady most
apt for sic a villanie, but because she
thought by that way to be reuenged of
three enemies at once, the king, the
Erle, and his wife, and therwithall to
winne a colour and cause of diuorce to
make empty bedrowme for Bothwell.
After that she was deliuered of childe,
though she courteously enterteined all
vther, yet as oft as word was brought
her that the king was come to sée her,
baith she and her company so framed
thair speche & countenance, as if thay
semed to feare nothing mair than that
the king should perceaue that thay lo-
thed him, and that his comming and
presence was displeasant to tham all.
On the vther side Bothwell alone was
all in all, he alone was gouerner of all
her counsels and all her affaires. And
so desirous was the Quene to haue
her hartie affection towart him vnder-
stood of all men, that if any sute were
to be made to her, thare was no way
of speding for any man but by Both-
well to obteine it.

That

Nat lang after her deliuerance, on a day very early, accompanied with very few that wer privie of her counsall, sche went downe to the water side at the place called the New hauen, and while all maruelled whether she went in sic hast, sche sodenly entred into a ship there prepared for her, quhilk ship was prouided by William Blacater, Edmond Blacater, Leonard Robertson, and Thomas Dicson, Bothuelles seruantes & famous robbers & pyrates. With this trayne of thiefes, all honest men wondering at it, sche betoke her selfe to sea, takyng nat ane vther with her, na nat of her gentlemen nor necessarie attendantes for common honestie. In Aloe caskell, where the shyp arryued, how sche behaued her selfe, I had rather euery man should with hym selfe imagine it; than heare me declare it. This ane thyng I dare affirme, that in all hir wordes and doynges sche neuer kept any regard, I will nat say of Quenelike maiestie, but nat of matronelike modestie. The kyng, quhen he heard of this sodeine departure of the Quene, followed after with all

the haſt that he poſſibly cauld by land, and there ouertuke hir, in purpoſe and hoppyng there to be her company and to enioy the mutuall louyng fellowſhyp of mariage. But how louingly he was receiued of her, baith all they that wer preſent, and ſic as haue heard tham repoꝛt it, can well remember. Foꝛ being ſcarcely ſuffered to tarry there a few houres, while hys men and hoꝛſes bayted, he was enfoꝛced to get hym away in haſt agayne an peine of further perill. As foꝛ hir ſelf, ſche paſſtimed there certayne dayes, if nat in princely magnificence, yet in mair than princely oꝛ rather vnprincely licentiouſneſſe. There went ſche a huntyng, ones at the riuer of Magat, an vther tyme at the foꝛeſt of Glenartue. There how coplye, yea how loſtily and diſdaynfully ſhe behaued her ſelfe to the kyng, quhat nede it be rehearſed, foꝛ the thing was opẽly done in all mens ſight, & continueth enprint it in all mens memoꝛie.

Quhen ſche was returned to Edenburgh, ſche tuke nat her ladgyng in her owne palace, but in a priuate houſe next adioyning to Jhon Balfoures.

foures. Thense sche remoued into an vther house quhair the yerely courte, quhilk they call the Exchequer was then kept: For this house was larger, and had pleasant gardens to it, & next to the garden altogether a solitarie vacant rome. But there was an vther mater quhilk, mair thã al these things, specially allured her thether. There dwelt hardby one Dauid Chambers, Bothwels seruãt, whoes backdoze adioynit to the garden of the Quenis lodging. The rest, wha gesseth nat: for the Quene hir selfe confessed the mater baith to many vther & also namely to the Regent & hys mother. But sche layed all the blame vpon my ladie Rerese a womã of maist vile vnchastitie, wha had sometime been one of Bothwels harlots, and than was one of the chefe of the Quenis priuie chamber. By this woman, wha now in her age had from the gayne of hozedome betaken hir selfe to the craft of bawderie, was the Quene, as her selfe sayd, betrayed. For Bothwel was through the garden brought into the Quenis chamber, & there forced hir agaynst hir will forsothe. But how much agaynst hir

will Dame Kereſe betrayed her, tyme the mother of truth hath diſcloſed. For within few dayes efter, the Quene intending as I ſuppoſe to reaquite force with force and to rauiſh hym agayne, ſent Dame Kereſe, (who had her ſelfe alſo before aſſayit the mans ſtrength) to bryng hym captiue vnto her hyghnes. The Quene with Margaret Carwod, a woman priuie of all her ſecretes, dyd let her downe by a ſtryng ouer an auld wall into the next garden. But in ſic weirlike affaires, all thynges can not euer be ſo well foreſeen, but that ſome incommodious chaunce may ouerthwartly happen. Behald, the ſtryng ſodenly brake, and downe with a great noyſe fell Dame Kereſe, a woman very heauy baith by vnweldy age & maſſy ſubſtance. But ſche an auld beaten ſoldiar, nothyng diſmayed with the darkenes of the night, the heighth of the wall, nor with the ſodennesſe of the fall, by ſche getteth, & winneth into Bothwels chamber, ſche gyt the doore open, and out of his bed, euen out of his wiues armes, halfe a ſlepe, halfe naked, ſche forceably bringes the man to the Quene.

This

This maner and circumſtances of the dede, nat onely the maiſt pairt of tham that then wer with the Quene haue confeſſed, but alſo George Dagliſh Bothwelles chamberlane, a litle before he was executed playnly declared the ſame, quhilk hys confeſſioun yet remayneth of recorde.

In the meane tyme, the kyng commanded out of ſight, & with iniuries and miſeries baniſched from her, kept hym ſelfe cloſe, with a few of hys ſeruantes at Stercline. For alas quhat ſhould he els do? He could nat creepe into any pece of grace with the quene, nor could get ſo much as to mainteine his dayly neceſſarie expenſes to finde his few ſeruantes and hys horſes: and finally with brawlynges lightly riſing for euery ſmall triſle, and querels vſually piked he was chaced out of her preſence. Yet his hart, obſtinately fired in louing hir, cauld not be reſtrained, but he muſt neidis come backe to Edenburgh of purpoſe with all kinde of ſeruiceable humbleneſſe to get ſome entrie into hir former fauour, and to recouer the kinde ſocietie of mariage. Quho ones againe with maiſt diſho-

nourable disdaine excludit, anes again returneth frō quhense he came, thare as in solitarie desert to bewaile his woefull miseries.

Within few dayes after, quhen the king determined to goe to Jedworth to the assises thare to be halden, about the beginning of October, Bothwell maiketh his iorney into Liddesdale. Thare behauing himself nouther according to the place quhairto he was called, nor according to his nobilitie of race and estimation, he was waunded by a powre thæfe that was him selfe ready to dye, and caryed into the castell called the Yeremitage, with great vncertaintie of his recouerie. Quhan newes hereof was brought to Borthwik to the Quene, she flingeth away in hast like a mad woman, by great iourneyes in poste, in the sharpe time of winter, first to Melrose and than to Jedworth. Thare though she heard sure newes of his life, yet hir affectioun impatient of delay cauld not temper it self, but nedis she must bewray hir outragious lust, and in an vnconnenient time of the yere, despising all discōmodities of the way & wether, & all dangers

gers of theifis, she betwke hir self hed-long to hir iourney with sic a company as na man of any honest degrée wald haif aduentured his life and his gudes amang tham. Thense she returneth a-gain to Jedworth, and with maist ear-nest care & diligence prouideth & pre-pareth all thinges to remoue Bothwel thether. Quhen he was ones brought thether, thair company and familiar haunt togither was sic as was smally agreing with baith thair honours. Thare, whether it were by reason of thair nightly and daily trauailes, dis-honourable to tham selfis and infamous amang the pepill, or by some secrit prouidence of God, the Quene fell in-to sic a sore and dangerous sickenesse, that scarcely thare remained any hoip of hir life.

Quhan the king heard thairof, he hasted in post to Jedworth, to visit the Quene, to comfort hir in hir weake-nesse, and by all the gentill seruices that he possibly cauld to declare hys af-fectioun and harty desire to do hir plea-sure. So far was it of that hys lodging and thynges necessary was prouidit for him agaynst his cõmyng (quhilk is

iwont to be done euin for meane persons) that he found nat any ane token toward him of a freindly minde. But this was a point of maist barbarous inhumanitie vsed against him, that the Nobilitie and all the officers of the Court that were present were specially forbidden, not anes to do him reuerence at hys comming, nor to yeld him thair lodging, nor to harber him so mekle as for ane night. And quhairas the Quene suspected that the Erle of Murray, quhilk afterward was Regent, wald shew him curtesie, she practised with his wife to goe home in hast and faine hir selfe sicke, and kepe hir bed, that at least by thys colour, vnder pretense of hir sickneſſe, the king might be shut out of dores. Being thus denied all duties of ciuile kindneſſe, the nest day with great greef of hart he returned to his auld solitarie corner. In the meane time quhile the king in that want of all thinges, and forsaken of all freindes, scant with begging findeth rowme in a cotage, Bothwell out of the house quhaire he was lodged befoir, as it were in triumph ouer the king, was glorioully remoued in sight

of

of the pepill into the Quenis awin lodging, and thare layed in a lower parler direcly vnder the chamber quhaire the Quene hir self lay sicke. Thare quhile thay baith were yet feebill & vnhealed, she of hir disease, and he of his wound, the Quene being very weake of hir body, yet visited him daily. And quhan thay were baith a littill recouered, and thair strengthes not yet fully settled, thay returned to thair auld pastime againe, and that so openly as thay semed to feare nathing mair than least thair wickednes should be vnknawen.

About the v. day of Nouember, being remoued from Jedworth to a towne called Calco, thare she receaued letters from the king. Quhilk quhan she had red in presence of the Regent, the Erle of Huntley, and the Secretary, she cast a pitious luik, and miserably tormented hir selfe as if she wald haif byandby fallen down againe into hir former sicknes, & she plainly and expressly protested, that vnlesse she mought by some meane or vther be dispatched of the king, she should neuer haife ane gude day. And if by no vther way she cauld atteine it, rather than

she wald abide to liue in sic sorow, she wald slay hir selfe.

Within few dayes after, quhile in hir returne through Marchelād she lay at Coldingham, Dame Kerese passed through the watch and was knawen and let goe. Quhat company she had, and whether she went at that time of night, it is nat vnknawen to the Quene. From thense about the end of Nouember she came to Cragmillar, a castell about twa miles from Edenburgh. Thare in presence of the Erle of Murray (quhilk afterward was Regent, and now is him selfe also slaine) and of the Erles of Huntley and Argyle, and the Secretarie, she fell into hir sayd former discourse, and also added the maist commodious way, as she thought, how it might be brought to passe, that is, to sūe a diuorce against the king. And she douted not but it might easily be obteined, forasmuch as thay were the one to the vther in sic degrée of consanguinitie, as by the Popes law might not marry together, specially (quhilk was easie for hir to do) the Null being conueyed away quhairby the same law was dispensed with.

Cosin germanes.

with. Here quhen ane had cast a doubt, that if sche should goe that way to worke, thair sonne should be made a bastard, being borne out of lawfull wedlocke, specially sith neither of hys parentes were ignorant of the causes quhairby the mariage should be voide: this answer quhen sche had a quhile tossed in hir minde, and knew that he sayd trouth, and that sche durst nat as yit disclose hir purpose to make away hir sonne, sche gaue ouer that deuise of diuorce, and yit from that day forward sche neuer cessed to pursue hir intentioun of murdering the king, as may easily be perceiuit by that quhilke followid.

The King being returnid from Stereline to Cragmillar, quhen he hoipid to finde hir mair gentill toward him, and hir displeasure by processe of tyme somequhat appeasid, he so found na tokē of change of hir affectioun, that he was nat allowed any thyng for his dayly sustenance, vnlesse he kept him still at Stereline. Quhilk thing exceedingly encreased the pepils suspicioun, otherwise of it selfe alredy enough inclined to that iudgement, of

the vnchaist companiyng of the Quene with Bothwell

About the beginning of December, quhen there wer Embassadours come out of France and England, to the Christening of the king that now is: that Bothwell might be gorgiously beséne amang the Nobilitie, sche hir selfe layed out the money to bye hym apparell, and sum sche baught hir selfe of the marchantes for him, and sche sa applied hir selfe with sic diligence in ouerseing the making therof, as if sche had bene, I will nat say his wife, but euen his seruaunt. In the meane time hir lawfull husband, at the Christening of his awn childe, nat onely wanted all hir maintenance for his necessary expensis, but also was cõmaundid nat ones to cum in the Embassadours sight, his ordinarie seruantis were remouid from him, the nobilitie weir enioynid nat ones to attend on him, nor to do him honor, nor in a maner to know him: the forren Ambassadouris wer warnid nat to talke wyth him, quhen yet the maist pairt of the day thay wer all in the same Castel quhere he was.

The

The young gentleman thus contemptuously and vnkindly vsed, fell in sic despeire, that he departed from Stereline and went to Glascow to his father. At his departure the Quene still pursued him with hir wonted haitred. All his siluer plate quherewith he was serued from hys mariage tyll that day, sche toke it away euery whit, and appointed pewter in the steede thereof. But let this serue onely to proue hir contempt of him: the rest that followed are euident argumentes of outragious crueltie and vnappeasable haitrid. Ere he was passid a mile from Stereline, all the pairtes of his bodie wer taken with sic a sore ache, as it might easily appeare that the same proceded nat of the force of any sickenesse, but by playne trecherie. The tokens of quhilke trecherie, certayne blacke pimples sa sone as he was cum to Glascow, brake out ouer all his hole bodie, with sa great ache and sic peine throughout all his limmes, that he lingred out his life with very small hoipe of escape: and yet all this quhile the Quene wald nat suffir sa much as ane Phisitioun anes to cum at him.

Eſter the Ceremonies of the Chriſtening ended, ſche practiſid with hir brother the Erle of Murray, that quhē he ſhould go to cōduct the Erle of Bedford, the Quene of Inglādis Ambaſſadour to S. Andrewes, he ſhould require Bothwell alſo to beare him companie. Quho in deide frankly promiſed ſa to do, howbeit baith he and the Quene the deuiſer of that diſſimulatioun, thoght nathing leſſe, as the ſucceſſe ſchewed. For ſa ſone as the king was gone to Glaſcow, and the reſt towart S. Andrewes, ſche with hir Bothwell got hir to Drumen, and from thence to Tylebarne. In quhilke houſis they ſa paſſid the time about viij. dayes, in euery corner, and in familiar haunting together, as all (ſauing themſelues alone that had thrōwē away all ſchame) wer hiely offended with their cōtempt and vile regard of publike fame, ſeing them now nat ones to ſēke to couer thair filthy wickednelle.

Quhen about the beginning of Januarv thay wer returned to Stereline, ſche begā to finde fault with the houſe quherein hir ſonne was nurſed, as incommodious becaus it ſtode in a colde

and

and moyſt place, dangerous for bring-
ging the childe to a rewme. But it ſhall
eaſily appeare that this was done for
other purpoſe, for as much as all theſe
faultes that ſche pretended baith weir
nat in that houſe, and alſo wer in deid
in the other houſe to quhilke the childe
was remeuid, beyng ſet in a low place
and a very mariſhe. The childe being
ſcarcely aboue vi. monethes olde, in
the dæpe of a ſharpe winter, was con-
ueyed to Edenburgh. There, becauſe
the firſt attempt preuailed nat, and the
force of the poyſon was ouercome by
ſtrength of nature, that at length yet
ſche might bring furth that quherwith
ſche had ſa lang traueiled, ſche entreth
into new deuiſes for the murder of
the King.

Hir ſelf goeth to Glaſcow, ſche pre-
tendeth the cauſe of hir iorney to be to
ſæ the king aliue, quhoes deith ſche
had continually gapid for the whole
moneth befoir. But quhat was in deid
the trew caus of that iorney, ech man
may plainely perceiue by hir letters to
Bothwell. Being now out of care of
hir ſonne, quhom ſche had in hir awne
warde, bending hir ſelfe to the ſlaugh-

ter of hir husband, to Glascow sche goeth, accompanied with the Hamiltons and vther the kings naturall enemies.

Bothwell, as it was betwene tham before accordid, prouideth all thyngis redy that were nedefull to accomplishe the haynous act, first of all a house nat commodious for a sick mã, nor comely for a king, for it was baith torne & ruinous, & had stand empty without any dweller for diuerse yeares befoir: in a place of small resort, betwene the auld fallen wallis of two Kirkes, neare a few almes houses for pore beggers. And that no commodious meane for committing that mischiefe might be wãting, there is a posterne doze in the towne wall hard by the house, quhereby thay might easily passe away into the fieldes. In chusing of the place sche walde needes haifit thoght that thay had respect to the holesomnes. And to auoyde suspicioun that this was a faynid pretence, hir selfe the two nightes next befoir the day of the murder, lay there in a lower rowme vnder the kingis chamber. And as sche did curiously put of the shewes of suspicioun from hir selfe, sa the executiomn of the

slaugh-

slaughter sche was content to haue committed to vther.

About thre deyes befoir ȳ the King was slaine, sche practisit to set hir brother Robart, and him at deadly feude, making reckening that it schould be gayne ta hir, quhilk sa euer of tham baith had perishit. For mater to groūd thayr dissentioun, sche made reherssall of the speach that the King had had with hir concerning her brother. And whan thay baith sa grew in talke, as the one seemed to charge the vther with the lye, at last thay were in a maner come from wordes to bloes. But while thay were baith laying thayr handes on thayr weapons, the Quene sayning as thogh sche had be perilouslously affrayit of that quhilk sche earnestly desirit, callith the Erle of Murray her vther brother to the parting, to this intent that sche might eyther presently bring him in danger to be slayne him self, or in time to come to bear the blaime of sic mischeise as than might haif happenit. Whan this way the succesſe fell nat out as sche desirit, sche deuisit a new way to transferre the suspicion from her self. While the Erle

of Murray dyd willingly keipe himself from the Court, and had reasonable excuse for hys absence, for that his wife lying neir her time, was beside that alswa very sicke: at the same time thare was an Embassador come from the Duike of Sauoy. This the Quene tuke for a conuenient colour to sende for her brother: but the trew cause of hyr sendyng for hym was, that sche had a desire to throw the suspicioun of the Kyngis murder vpon hym, and vpon the Erle Morton, and therwythall alswa at ones to procure the distructioun of those twa being men acceptable to the pepill and likely aduersaries to her practise quha entendyt to set vp a tyranicall regiment. But Gods gude clemency that oft befoir had deliuerit the Erle of Murray fra many tresons of hys enemeis, dyd than alswa manifestly succour hym: for vpon the sonday quhilk was the ix. day of Februarie, quhen he was going to the Kirk to ane sermon, a letter was brought him that hys wief was deliuerit afoir hyr time, and in veray small hoip of lief. Quhen he being dismayit with these soden newes, prayd leaue of

the

the Quene to depart, sche aunswerit, that gif the caas wer sa, it wer a superfluous iourney for hym to go to hyr, beyng nat abill to do hyr any gude in hyr sickneſſe. But quhen he was styll mair importunate, sche prayit hym, that he wauld yit tary but that one night, and take hys iourney the nert day to his wyfe. But the clemencie of God, as at many vther times, baith deliverit the innocent gentleman fram present peril, and alswa tuke away the occasioun of sclaunder agaynst hym in time to com. Howbeit for al this thogh there were no cause of suspitioun, yit he eschaped nat free from sclander: for Huntley and Bothwell, though thay could nat iustly charge hym, yet laboured by infamous libelles quhilk thay spread abroad, to disteyne hym wyth the maist foule spotte of that schamfull act. And quhairas the murder was cõmitted after midnight, they had befoyr daylight caused by speciall forapointid messengers rumors to be spred in Jngland, that the Earles of Murray and Morton were doers of that sclaughter. But that rumour, so soone as the light of the truth ones brake forth, so-

denly vanisched away, as vther fal-
schodes are commonly wont to do.

Quhen all thingis were redy pre-
parit for perfourming this cruell fact,
and yit all occasiouns cut of to diuert
the blame thayrof, the partenaris of
the conspyracie fearyng left lang delay
shauld eyther bryng some impediment
to thair purpose, or disclose thayr coun-
selles, determynit to dispatch it in hast.
The Quene thairfoir, for manners
sake after supper, goeth vp to the Kin-
gis lodging. Thare, being determinit
to shew him all the tokens of reconci-
led gude will, sche spent certaine hou-
res in his company, with countenance
and talke mikle mair familiar than sche
had vsid in sixe or seuen monethis be-
foyr. At the comming in of Paris sche
brake of hir talk, & prepared to depart.
This Paris was a yong man borne in
France, & had liued certayne yeires in
the houses of Bothwell, & Seton, & ef-
terwart with the Quene. Quhairas
the vther kayis of that lodging wair in
custody of the Kingis seruants, Paris
by fayning certayne fond and sclender
causis, had in keipyng the keyis quhilk
Bothwell kept backe, of the back gate

and

and the posterne. He was in specyall trust with Bothwell and the Quene, touchand thayr secrete affayres. His comming (as it was befoyr agreit emang tham) was a waitchwoyrd that all was ready foyr the matter. As sone as the quene saw hym, sche rose vp immediatly, and feyning an vther cause to depart, sche sayid, Alas I haif mikle offendit towart Sebastian this day that I come not in a maske at hys mariage. This Sebastian was an Aruernois, a man in greit fauour with the quene foyr his cunning in musike, and his mery iesting, and was maryit the same dey. The king thus left in maner alone in a desolate place, the quene departith accompanyit wyth the Erles of Argile, Huntley, and Cassilis, that attendit vpon hyr. Efter that sche was come into her chamber after midnicht, sche was in lang talke with Bothwell, none byeng present but the capitayne of her gard. And quhen he alswa withdrew him selfe, Bothwell was thare left alone without vther cumpany, and schortly efter retyred into hys awin chamber. He chainged hys apparell, because he wald be vnknawin of sic as

met hym: and put on ane loſe cloke, ſic as the Swartrytters weare, and ſa went forwart thorow the watch to execute hys intendit trayterous fact. The whole order of the duyng thayrof, may be eaſely vnderſtude by thayr confeſſions quhilk were put to deith for it.

Bothwell eſter the dede was ended that he wēt for, returned, & as if he had ben ignorant of al that was don, he got him to bed. The Quene in the meane time in greit expectation of the ſuccess, how finely ſche played hir part (as ſche thoght) it is maruell to tell. For ſhe nat anes ſtirred at the noiſe of ẏ fall of the houſe, quhilk ſhooke the hale towne, nor at the fearfull outcryis that follow it, & confuſed cryes of the pepill, (for I thinke there happenit hir nat any new thyng vnlukit for) till Bothwell fayning hymſelfe afrayde, roſe agayn out of his bed and came to hir with the Erles of Argile, Huntley, and Athole, and with the wyues of the Erles of Athole and Murray, and with the Secretarie. There quhile the monſtrous chaunce was in tellyng, quhile euery one wondered at the thyng, that the kyngis lodging was euin from the be-

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ry foundation blown vp into the ayre, & the kyng him self slayne: in this amasednesse & confusit feare of all sortes of persons, onely that same heroicall hart of the Quene, maintenit it selfe so far from castyng hir selfe downe into base lamentations and teares vnbesemyng the Royall name, blud, and estate, that she matched or rather farre surmounted all credit of the constancie of any in former tymes. This also proceded of the same nobilitie of courage, that she set out the mair part of tham that wer then about hir, to enquire out the maner of the doyng, and commandit the soldiars that watchit to follow, & she hir selfe settlit hir selfe to rest, with a countenance sa quyet, and mynde sa vntroublit, that she swætely slept till the next day at none. But least she should appere voide of all naturalnesse at the death of hir husband, by litil and litill at length she kept hir close, & proclamed a mournyng nat lãg to endure.

The commoun pepill, nat certainly knawyng whether she laughed or lamented, wer diuided into sondry imaginations, sith it was perilous dealing with the disguising of the court, either

in knawyng it to seme to mock it, or in nat cunnyngly dissemblyng to seme to knaw it. Quhile some talked of one sorte, some of an vther, in the meane tyme of any inquirie to be had of the murder, there was na mention made at all. At lengthe, the day followyng, at efternone, quhen baith shame and feare constrainit them thereto, Both well the principall doer of the vyle act, with certaine vther that wer priuie to the same, assemblit together with the Erle of Argyle for that he is by inheritance the Justice to deale with crimes punishable by death. First as though thay had bene vtterly ignorant of all that euer was done, thay begynne to wonder at the strangenesse of the matter, sic as neuer was heard of, and incredible. Then thay begyn to be busie a litill about thair inquirie, thay sent for a few poore silly women that dwelt there about. Quhilk poore saules standing in dout whether it wer better for tham to tell or hald thair peace, though thay deintily tempered thair speech, yet quhen thay had blabbed out somwhat mair then the iudges luked for, thay wer dismissed againe as fooles that had

but

but vndiſcretly prated. For thair teſti-
monies, though thay touched ſome
folkes ſhrewdly, yet thay were ſic as
thay might eaſily ſet lyght by. Then
were called and examined the kyngis
ſeruantes that wer of hys houſhold, ſic
as wer left vndeſtroyit with the cruell
chaunce. Thay denyed that thay had
the keyes in keping. Beyng examined
quho had tham, thay ſayd the quene.
So the enquirie for maners ſake was
adiornit, but in dede ſuppreſſit, for
feare leaſt if thay proceded further, the
ſecretes of the court might hap to be
diſcloſed. Yet leaſt the mater ſhould
ſeme nat to be regarded, out goeth a
proclamatioun with rewardes promi-
ſed to hym that could geue informa-
tioun of it. But quho durſt accuſe the
quene: or (quhilk was in maner mair
perilous) quho durſt detect Bothwell
of ſic a horrible offence: ſpecially quhē
he hym ſelfe was baith doer, iudge, in-
quirer, and examiner? Yet this feare
quhilk ſtoppit the mouthes of euery
man in particular, could nat reſtraine
the hale multitude in generall. For
baith by bukes ſet out, & by pictures,
and by cryes in the darke night, it was

ſa handelit, that the doers of the miſ-cheuous fact might eaſily vnderſtand that thoſe ſecretes of thairs wer come abrode. And quhen euery man was now out of dout, quho dyd the mur-der, and quho gaue furtherance vnto it, the mair that thay labored to kepe thair own names vndiſcloſit, ſo much the peoples grudge reſtraynit brake out mair openly. Though thay tuke vpõ tham as if thay regardit nat theſe thynges, yet ſometyme the rumors ſa nerely prickit them to the quick, that thay could by no meanes hyde thair anger. Thairfoir, diſcontinuyng thair ſearchyng for the kynges death, they begyn a new enquirie, farre mair ear-neſt, againſt the authors of bukes, and the ſclanderers of Bothwell as thay tham ſelues termed tham. Theſe exa-minations wer ſa rigorouſly put in ex-cutioun, as nouther money, nor labor of men nor horſes was ſpared about it. All the paynters were callit togither, all that earned thair liuing by writyng, wer aſſembled, to iudge of the pictures and bukes that had ben ſet out. And if ane painter had nat of hys awn accord confeſſit, that it was he of quhoes

wozke thay inquirit, an vther that was not gilty therof, but touchit a litill with a slight suspicioun, had suffred for it. There was publisshed a proclamatioun agreable with the maner of the Inquisition, quhairin it was made death, nat onely to set out any sic mater, but also to rede it beyng set out by ane vther. But these persones that with threteneyng of death practised to stoppe the speche of the pepill, yet nat satisfiit with maist cruell murder of the king, cessit nat thair hatrit against him quhē he was dead. All hys gudes, armure, horses, apparell, & vther furniture of his house, the quene diuidit, some to tham that slew hym, and some to hys fathers auncient deadly foes, as if thay had vpon atteinder come to hir by forfaiture: and hys fathers tenantes, as though thay had ben alswa part of hir conquerit bowty, she sa scraped till she brought tham in a maner to extreme beggerie.

But this was a strange example of crueltie and sic as neuer was heard of befoir, that as she had satisfied her heart with hys slaughter, sa she wold nedes fede hir eyes with the sight of

hys bodie slayne. For she lang beheld, nat onely without grefe, but also with gredy eyes, hys dead corps, the gudlyest corps of any gentleman that euer liued in this age. And than sodenly, without any funerall honor, in the night tyme, by commoun carriers of dead bodies, vpon a vile bære, she caussit hym to be buryed hard by David Rizo. Quhen these doynges were knawin abrode, and that the indignatioun of the pepill had ouercome the threatnynges of penalties, and the frãkneſſe of sorrow surmounted feare, by litill and litill she beganne to set hir face, and with counterfaiting of mournyng she laborit to appease the hartes of the grudgyng pepill. For quhair the auncient maner hath ben for quenis efter the death of thair husbandes, by the space of fortye dayes, not onely to forbeare the companie of men, but also from lukyng on the open light, she attemptit a disguisit maner of mournyng. But the myrth of heart far passing the fayned sorrow, she shut the dores in dede but she set open the windowes, and within fower dayes she threw away hir wayling wéede, and

gane

gane to behald baith sunne and open skye agayne. But this ane thyng fell very ouerthwartly. For quhen Henry Killegrée, was come from the quene of Ingland to comfort her, as the maner is, this gentleman Strangeris hap was to marre the play and vnuisor all the disguising. For quhen he was, by the quenis commaundement come to the Court, though he beyng an auld courtier and a gud discrete gentleman, did nathyng hastily, yet he came in sa vnseasonably ere the stage wer prepared and furnished, that he found the windowes open, the candeles nat yet lighted, and all the prouision for the play out of order. Quhen of the forty dayes that are apoyntit for the mournyng, scarce twelue wer yet fully past, and the counterfaityng wald nat frame half handsomely, & to disclose hir true affections so sone she was somewhat ashamit, at length takyng hart of grace vnto hir, and neglectyng sic trifles, she commeth to her own byace, and openly sheweth hir owne naturall conditions. She posteth to Setons house, with a very few and those not all of the saddest company. There Bothwel,

 though

though it semed that for the great fa-
uor he than had in court, and for the
nobilitie of hys byrth, & other respectes
of honor, he should haue ben, next efter
the quene, most honorably receiued,
yet was iudged in a chamber hard by
the kitchin. Howbeit the same was a
place not altogether vnfit to asswage
thair sorrowes, for it was directly vn-
der the quenis chamber: and if any so-
dein qualme of grefe should haue hap-
ned to come ouer hir hart, there was a
paire of stayres, though somewhat nar-
row, yet wyde enough for Bothwell to
get vp to comfort hir.

In the meane tyme, efter the rumor
hereof was spred into France, Monsi-
eur de Croc, quho had often befoir
ben Embassadour in Scotland, came
in sodenly vpon tham, God wote full
vnseasonably. By hys aduise she retur-
ned to Edenburgh, out of that denne
quhilk euen as far as France was in-
famous. But in Setons house were sa
many commodious opportunities for
hir purpose, that how soeuer hir gud
name wer therby appeyred, nedes she
must ga thether agayne. There were
conselles holden of the great affaires

of

of the realme. The end of the consultatioun was, that Bothwell shold be arrainit of the murder, and acquitit by iudges therto chosen for the nones and constrainit. It was concludit, that the meaner sorte of the iudges might with fauor and fayre promises. be ledde, and the rest of the greater and grauer sort (whom for fashions sake thay were driuen to call to the mater) might be drawen with feare to acquite hym. For byside libelles therof commonly throwen abrode, the kyngis father the Erle of Lennor did openly accuse hym for principall author of the murder.

The assemblie of the states in parlament was at hand, quhilk was to be halden the xij. of Aprill, befoir quhilk day thay wald nedes haue the arrainement dispatchit. That great hast was the cause, quhy in that preceding and triall nathyng hes ben done according to the forme of law, nathing in order, nathing after the auncient vsage. There ought to haue bene publike summons of the accusers, the next of the kinne, the wife, the father, and the sonne, eyther to be present thamselfis,

or to send thair proctors. The law also gaue tham tyme of forty dayes. But hair the father was commaundit to cum within xiij. dayes, and that wythout any assembly of his frendis, wyth hys awne housholde retinue anely, quhilk by reason of his great pouertie was now brought to a few: quhile in the meane tyme Bothwell with great bandes of men, dayly mustered about the towne. And bycause he verely beleuit that in sa assurit perill na man would take vpon hym to be hys accuser, he grew to sic ane negligence, and sic contempt of law and iudiciall procedyng, that the dictay was framit of ane murder supposit to be done the ix. day of February, quhen in dede the kyng was slayne the x. day. In choosing and refusing of the Judges, the lyke seueritie was vsid, for the murderers tham selfis made the choise of the Judges, quhen there was na man to take exceptioun against tham. The Erle of Cassiles, willing raither to pay hys amercemēt as the maner is, than to be a Judge in the matter, quhen he had stoode in it a quhile and wald nat appeare at the Quenis request & manacyng

Enditement.

sing, yea though sche sent hir ring for credit baith of hir earnest prayer and threatning, at length constraynit with feare of exile and punitioun, he yelded. There sate the Judges, nat chosin to iudge, but piked out to acquite: the cause procedit wythout any aduersarie: a triall in a matter of life & deith, quhen there was neuer ane accuser, but suborned by the partie accused: so as a man might well thinke it not the triall of a cause in a court but the playing of ane enterlude vpon a stage. In all this recklesnesse of all thinges, yet behald I pray you of quhat force is the testimony of conscience on either side. Sodenly, vnlooked for, there starteth vp a youngman of the Erle of Lennox house, in quhame the respect of dutie vanquisht the feare of danger. This youngman made ane open protestatioun that the same assembly of Judges was nat lawfull, bycause in thair proceding there was nathing done according to law nor order. At thys saying the Judges were all striken in sic a feare, that thay all by and by with one mouth made protestatioun, with promise that it should nat hereafter be pre-

iudiciall to tham, in that thay acquitted a prisoner quhame na man accused, and that thay had acquitit him of a murder allegit to be committit the ix. day of February quhen the kyng was slayne the x. day. This is that saim nobill triall and iudgement, quhairby Bothwell was, not cleansed of the crime, but as it weir washed with solyters blacking, and sa mair comely prepared to goe a wooing to wed the Quene, and sa to become a husband to hir greater schame than he was befoir an adulterer. To make vp yet the full perfectioun and encrease of this iolly acquitall, there was set vp a writyng in the most notorious place of the court, that though Bothwell had by iust triall and iudgement bene lawfully cleansed and acquitit of the murder quhairof he had ben falsely accusit, yet for mair manifest declaratioun of his innocētie to the hale world, he was redy to trie it in combat, if any man of gude fame and a gentilman borne would charge him with the murder of the king. The nert day after, there was ane that set vp a bill in open place, and offred to accept the

cum-

combat, sa that there might for the battell be sic a place appointed, quhairin the partie mought safely without feare disclose his name.

Quhile maters and mens affections were in this styre, the parlament assembled. There after thay had forthi. dayes together, in maner done nathing but treated of reuersing ȳ iugement, quhairby the Erle Huntleyes father had ben attaintit of treason, & for restoryng the sonne to hys fathers possessions and honors: there were alswa certaine plausible thyngis grauntit to please the pepill, and specially for the Kirke, namely the repellyng of certain lawes of popish tyrannie made for punischyng of sic as durst ones mutter agaynst the decrees of the see of Rome. Thoughthese thingis were acceptable among the commonaltie, yet there remainit ane thyng quhilk na lesse vered the quene thẽ offended the pepil, that is to say, hir cõpanieng with Bothwel, not altogether sa openly as she wald faine haue had it, and yet not sa secretly but that the pepill perceiuit it, for that all mens eyes were gazyng vpõ tham. For quhairas Bothwel had

a wife of his owne, & to tarry for a diuorce was thoght an ouerlang delay, and in the meane time the quene could nouther openly auow to haue him, nor secretly enioy hym, and yit in no wise could be without hym, some shift, though nat an honest ane, yit a shift forsothe, must be deuised. And quhen thay could nat thinke vpon a better, it semit tham a maruelous fine inuentioun god wote, that Bothwell should rauishe and take away the Quene by force, and sa saue hir honour. Sa within a few daies after, as the quene was returning from Stercline, Bothwell forceably toke hir by the way and carit hir to Dunbarre: whether with hir will, or agaynst hir will, euery man may easily perceiue by hir awin letters that sche wrote to him by the way as sche was in hir iourney. But howsoeuer it weir, that the wrong of the rauishment might be defaced with honest colour of mariage, Bothwels wife was compelled, in twa courtis to sue a diuorce against hir husband.

Befoir Iudges delegats appointit by the quenis authorifie to haif iurisdictioun in sic causis, the wife accuseth

the

the husband of adulterie, quhilke with tham was a iust cause of diuorce. Before Popishe Judges quho in deed by law weir forbidden, yet by speciall dispensatioun of the Bischop of S. Andrew, weir for the hearing of this cause anely permitted, Bothwell was accusit, that befoir his mariage with hys wife, he had committit fornicatioun with his wiues neare kinswoman: howbeit all this quhile thay kept close the Popis Bull by quilk the same offence was dispensit with. The diuorce was posted forwart without any slacknes either in the witnesses or in the Judges. Within the space of x. dayes, the matter was taken in hand, began, and intented, ioynit vnto, tryit and iudged befoir baith the companies of Judges. Quhen the sentence of diuorce was geuen and sent to Dunbar, Bothwell by and by assembleth together frō all pairtes, all his friendis, his seruantis, and reteiners, to conuey to Edenburgh the quene, quho wauld then nedes take vpon hir to be a prisoner. Quhen thay weir thus gatherid together, the maist pairt of tham in armour, by the way as thay weir con-

ducting the quene, many of tham weir
sodenly stricken in some feare, least in
time to cum they might be chargit for
halding the quene as prisoner, and
that though there were none vther e-
uidence, yet this anething would be
prefe enough against tham, that in
time of peace thay were found armid
about hir. Quhile thay were in this
doubt, in the middest of thair iorney
thay all threw away thair launces, and
in mair peasabill array, at least in
schew, thay conueyed hir to the castell
of Edenburgh, quhilke castell was al-
so the same tyme at Bothwelles com-
maundement. There sche taried with
Bothwell, quhile the banes weir pub-
lishing. Then sche came downe out
of the Castell into the towne, to the
commoun assembly of the Judges, and
there pronouncit hir selfe to be frē
and at hir awne libertie. And sa at
length within viij. dayes sche finished
that vnmatrimoniall matrimonie, all
gude men sa farre detesting or at least
grudgingly forseinging the vnlucky
end thereof, that Monsieur do Croc
the French kinges Embassadour, a
mā very well affectionit to the quene,

ane

ane of the factioun of the houſe of Guiſe, and ſoiorning very neare to the place, though he were earneſtly required, yet thoght he could nat wyth his honor be preſent at the feaſt.

Theſe thyngis wer done about the xv. of May, in the yere. 1567. The xv. day of June followyng, Bothwell beyng either diſmayed with gilty conſcience of the vile fact, or ſent away by the quene, ſhe came her ſelfe to the Lordes of the realme, quho earneſtly requirit the publike kyngmurderer to be brought forth to due execution. Quhat hath ſins ben done, perteineth nat much to this preſent mater. And though my ſpech haue perhappes ben langer than you luked for, yet I playnly perceiue in my ſelfe, that quhile I ſeke to make end of my tale, many thyngis I haue omittit, and many thyngis for haſt I haue but lightly touchit, and nathing haue I accordyng to the haynouſneſſe of the offenſe fully expreſſit.

Ane oratioun, with declaration of euidence againſt Marie the Scotiſhe Quene quhairin is by neceſſarie argumentis plainely prouit that ſche was giltie and priuie of the ſayde murder.

SIth theſe thingis are by writings and witneſſes ſa prouaible, and ſtick ſa faſt empruntit in the knaledge of all the pepill, that ſic as wald maiſt haue thaim hidden, yet can nat deny thaim: quhat plaice is here left for cunning, or quhat neid can be of diligence, to preue or repreue a thing ſa plaine and eudent? For all thingis are ſa cleir, ſa manifeſt, and ſa mutually knit together, ech pairt to ſtrengthen vther, that there is na neid of forzeine probations, and all thingis ſa fully witneſſit, that there is na neceſſitie of vther argumentis. For if any will aſke me, as in vther matters is wont to be aſkit, the cauſes of ſa fowle a fact, I might alſwa likewiſe aſke of hym, ſith the time, the plaice, the deede, and the autor is ſufficiently knawen, to quhat purpoſe is it to ſtand vpon ſearching the cauſes, or to enquire by quhat meanes it was atcheuit? Agayne quhen there be extant ſa many cauſes of hatrit,

and

and ſa many taikens thereof do offer thamſelues to knawlege, as may well be able to bryng euin thyngis vncertain to be beleuit, ſurely ſa farre fet an explicatioun of the act committed may right well ſeme ſuperfluous. Nat the leſſe, for as mikle as ſa great is the impudence of the vile offenders in denyeng, & ſa confident the boldneſſe of impudent perſones in lyeng, let vs aſſay to ſee with quhat wepons truth is able to defend innocencie agayneſt thoſe wickit monſters. Gif than thay demand the cauſe of ſa haynous a dede, I anſwere, it was vnappeaſable hatrit. I demand of tham agayne if thay can denye that ſic hatrit was, or that the ſame hatrit was ſa great as without blud cauld nat be ſatisfiet? Gif thay denie that ſic hatrit was, than let tham anſwere me, why ſhe a yong woman, riche, noble, and finally a Quene, thruſt away from hir in maner into exile the yong gentleman, beautifull, nere of hir kin; of the blud royall, and (that maiſt is) entierly louyng hir, in dede of ſharp wynter, into places nouther fruteſull of thyngis neceſſarie, nor repleniſhed with inhabitantes, and cõmõly perilous with haunt of theifes? why ſent ſhe him away into deſert and barren craggy mountaines, without prouiſion, into open periles, and in maner without any cõpanie? Quhat wald

ſhe els haue haue done if ſhe had maiſt dedly haitit hym, & couaitit to haue him diſpatchit: But I trow ſhe feared na ſic thyng. But that voydeneſſe of feare, I conſtrue to be a note of maiſt obſtinate haitrit, ſpecially ſithe ſhe baith knew the places and was nat ignorant of the dangers. That huſband thairfoir, to quhom ſhe was but laitely weddit, againſt the liking of hir ſubiectes, againſt the will of the freindis on baith ſides, without quhom ſche cauld nat endure, quhom ſche ſcarcely durſt ſuffer out of her ſight, hym I ſay ſhe thruſteth forth to vncertaine death and maiſt certaine perils.

Will ye aſke of me the cauſes of the chainge of her affectioun? quhat if I ſay I ken tham nat? it ſufficeth for my purpoſe to proue that ſche haitit hym. What if I aſke agayne, why ſche ſa extremely loued the younman quhom ſhe neuer ſaw befoir? quhy ſhe ſa haſtily maried him, and ſo vnmeaſurably honorit him? Sic are the natures of ſome wemen, ſpecially ſic as can nat bruike the greatneſſe of thair awne gud fortune: thay haue vehement affections baith wayes, thay loue with exceſſe, and hait without meaſure, and to quhat ſide ſa euer thay bend, thay are not gouerned by aduiſed reaſon, but carried by violent motion. I cauld out of the monumentes

numentes of antiquitie rehearse innumerable examples, but of hir selfe I had raitheſt beleue hir selfe.

Call to minde that part of hir letters to Bothwell quhairin ſche maketh hir ſelfe Medea, that is, a woman that nouther in loue noꝛ in hatrit can kepe any meane. I could alſwa allege vther causes of hir hatrit, although in dede nat reaſonable causes, yet ſic as are able to ſhoone forꝛwart and to puſh hedlang a hart foꝛ outrage nat able to gouerne it ſelfe. But herein I will foꝛbeare. And, if hir ſelfe will ſuffer me, howſoeuer ſhe hath deſeruit of hir ſubiects, yit ſa much as the cõmoun cauſe wil permit, I will ſpare her honoꝛ, yea I will ſpare it mair than the cauſe will allow me. I omit thairfoir hir vther causes of hatrit, and returne to this, that ſhe hatit and nat meanely hatit hym.

Wil ye ſee alſwa an vther proſe of hir hatrit? The tẽder wife foꝛſoth ſo louing and fond of hym, quhen ſhe could nat do him the dutie of a wife, offreth to do him the ſeruice of a bawde. Hir owne bꝛothers wife ſhe made choiſe of, to put to hym in hir place. Quhat ſhal we thinke to be the cauſe of this ſa ſodein change? Schе that quhilere gapingly ſought foꝛ euery ſmall breath of ſuſpicioun againſt hir huſband, and quhaire trew cauſes weir nat to be found, ſchе inuentit ſic as

weir manifestly falſe, and this ſche curiouſly did, nat quhen ſche louid hym, but quhen ſche had begon to hate hym, and quhile ſche was fiſching for occaſions to be diuorced from him, euen ſche I ſay now of hir awne accorde offreth him a louer, declareth hir awne contentatioun therewith, and promiſeth hir furtherance. Quhat can we imagine to be the cauſe hereof? was it to pleaſure hir huſband? no, for ſche hatit him, and although ſche louid him, yet ſic maner of doing in a woman is vncredible. Was it that he knawing himſelfe likewiſe gilty of adulterie on his pairt, might the maire willingly beare with a partner in vſe of his wife? No, for he bare withall perforce againſt his wyll. Was it to finde cauſe of diuorce, and ſa to driue him to leaue his bed empty for Bothwell? Yea, that was it in deede that ſche ſought for, but yet nat that alone. For in this woman ye muſt imagine na ſingle miſchefe. Sche hatit the Erle of Murrays wief, euin with ſic hatrit as all vnhoneſt perſons hait the honeſt. The difference of thair twa fames mikle vexit hir, & thairwithal alſwa ſhe couitit to ſet the gud ladies huſband & the king togeither by the eares, & ſa rid hir ſelfe of twa combrances at ones. Thus ſee you how many and how greit thingis ſche practiſit to diſpatch with ane labour.

Hir

Hir paramors enemie, the bridler of hir licentiousnes, & hir awne hatit husband she hopith to rid all at ones, quhile by sa sondry sortes of wickit doynges she maketh hast to hir maist wickit weddyng.

Quhairto tended that fearefull hasty callyng for the Erle Murray at midnight? Cauld she nat tarrie til day light? quhat was the occasioun of sa sodeine feare? The gude woman, God wote, carefull for cõcord of the nobilitie, derely louyng hir brother, and maist derely louing hir husband, was afrayd forsoth, least hir brother shold in the night haif ben assaltit by the kyng, quhom she hir selfe had disarmit? disarmit, sayd I: Yea she had disfurnished him of all conuenient companie for his estate, & made hym be shaken vp with womens scoldyng, & that by one of hir awne traine, one past all shame and of prostitute vnchastitie. She feared perdie, least the yongman, destitute of all freindes, beset with all sortes of miseries, shold make assalt in the night tyme. Upon quhat person? the Quenis brother, a man of a great reputatioun and power, and in hyest fauour with all estates. And quhair should he haue assailit him? in a maist strong castell, quhair vpon the dede done nouther was issue for him to flee, nor meane of refuge to the Quenis mercie. For quhat cause shold he assaile hym? There was

no enimitie betwene thaun but sic as sye had sowed. Quhat say you, if she couetit that thyng maist quhilk she most faynit hir selfe to feare? For to quhat purpose ells sent she for hir brother to come to hir in the night tyme, vnarmed? why dyd she nat aduise him of this one thyng at least, that because he was to passe by, and hard by the kyngis doze, he shold in any wise put on his armour? why did she nat either forewarne hym of the danger, or differre the callyng of him till the next morning? Na na, she had a far vther purpose in hād. She had but newly sent the kyng away, inflamed (as she hopit) with hatrit of the Erle Murray. So thoght she it nat vnlikely but that the kyng, kindlit with fresh displeasure, rasly by feruor of youth, lightly beleuing hir by excesse of loue, wald haue aduenturit to slay his supposed enemie, nakit, vnaccompanied and vnarmit. So sent she the king ragyng in anger to commit the slaughter, and practisit to draw the Erle Murray nakit, vnaccompanied, vnwarnit, to be sodenly trappit in treason. This was hir meanyng, this was hir desire. But wickit counsells, how suttle soeuer they be, are nat alway prosperous.

What meant this, that after hir deliuerance of childe, at quhilk time vther women do cheifly comfort thaim selues

in the louingnes of thayr husbandes, & confes that thay finde some ease of paine by sight of tham, sche at the same time dryueth her husband away? Quhat els shall we say sche meant thereby, but as the Poet sayth, for pure loue God wot, she shut him out of dores. But this tender creature, that eyther shutteth out hir husband, or assone as he is come chaceth him away agayne, whoes stomach turnit at the sight of hym, quho is sodenly taken with pangis at hys presence, quhen sche was in the pynnesse amang pyrates and theefis, sche could abide at the powpe, and ioyit to handle the boysterous cables. Now aske I quhaine sche loued, and quham sche haytit. For that at Aloe sche droue away the combersome interrupter of her pastime, that agayne quhen he came to hir to Edenburgh, sche reiected him, I blame hyr nat. I am content to beleif sche did it nat for hate to hir husband, but for hyr fanlies sake. That agayne at Iedworth sche suffrit him nat to come at hir, let it be borne withall: For nat without cause sche feart lest the force of hyr sickneslle wauld encrease at sight of him, whoes deith sche sa earnestly desyrit. That sche gaif speciall commaundement that na man shauld lodge him, na man shauld relieue him with meat or drincke, that sche in maner forbad him the vse of fyre

and water: thys is vndoubtedly a token of outragious haytrit. But it seemeth sche feavit the veray infectioun of hir husband, if he wer in any place neir hyr. That sche sent hym backe from Tragmillar to Stereline, I complayne nat. But that sche bereved him of all his necessaries, that sche tuke from him hys seruauntes, that sche abatit the allowance for hys expensis, that sche alienit the nobilitie from hym, that sche forbad strangeris the sight of him, and (as much as in hyr lay) tuke from him euen quhile he liued, the vse of heauen, earth, and ayre: thys, I say, I doubt quhat to call it, vnnaturalnesse, hatreit, barbarous fiercenesse, or outragious cruelrie? That quhen he went from Stereline sche tuke away all his plate, let it be pardoned, for what need had he of siluer, that caryit with him present deith in his bosome? But this this I beseech you consider how greit indignacioun of all men it hath kindlit, that quhen the King pure saule hardly shiftit wyth lief in desolatioun, in sorrow, and in beggery, in the mean tinne Bothwell, as an Ape in purple, was triumphantly shewed to the Embassadoris of forreine nationnis, euin that saim partener of hyr husbandes bed, nat sa mikle for loue of him selfe, as for despite of hyr husband, was caryit abroad, set out with

all

all kindes of ornamentes, euen that adulterous partener I say, that neyther in byrth, nor in beautie, nor in any honest qualitie was in any wise comparable with hyr disdayned husband. Now let them denay that here were tokens of hatreyt.

But how great and how vnappeasable this haitrit was, euen by this ye may gather. Hir husband sa oft shut out, sa oft sent away with dispite, drivin to extreme pouertie, banisched into a desolate corner, farre from the court, farre from presence of men, spoyled of hys seruantis and furniture of houshold, bereuit in a manir of his daily necessary sustenance, yet by na iniuries can be shaken from hir, by na feare of deith can be withdrawen, but with seruiceablenesse and patience he assayeth, if nat to ouercome, yit at least sumwhat to aswage the violent cruelitie of hir vnkind courage. In the meane tyme quhat doth this gude gentill wife, this mercyfull Quene, that is at beholding of mēs miseries sa kinde and pitifull? Neither is sche anes mouit with the louing doingis, nor with the wretched plight, nor with the miserabill wofulnesse of hir husband, nor appeasit by tyme, nor satisfyit with torrentis, but rathir wyth his seruiceablenesse sche is irritatit, with hys humble prayers sche is mair inflamit

mit, & at euery tyme of his comming ſhe deuiſeth ſome new encreaſe of ſpiteful diſhonor. Quhairin quhen ſhe had ſpent the vttermaiſt of all hir force, of witte, & bitternes of nature, quhen ſche ſaw the poore yong gentilman, neyther to geue ouir by faintyng, beyng oppreſſit with pouertie, and though he weir deſpiſit of all men, and ſa oft throwen into opin perillis, neyther to deſpeire nor vtherwiſe mair cruelly to miſdoe to himſelfe, at length as it weir glutit with ſight of his miſeries and tormentis, ſche determinit preſently to ridde him of hys calamities, hir ſelfe of irkſomneſſe, and hir adulterer from feare, and ſa by certayne ſpeciall perſonis thereto appointit, ſche cauſit hym to be poyſonit, that being abſent from hir, he might ſa die wyth leſſe ſuſpitioun. But of the poyſon I wyll ſay mair in an vther place.

Quhen this practiſe framit nat fully to hir deſire, ſche goeth hir ſelfe to Glaſcow, that quhom being abſent ſhe could nat kill, ſche might hir ſelfe in preſence ſatisfie baith hir cruell hart and hir eyes with ſight of hys preſent miſeries. And as if hir ſelfe alone weir nat ſufficient to execute the cruell tormenting of hym, ſche bringeth into his ſight the miniſters of hir haynous doinges, and hys auncient naturall enemies, and wyth theſe outragis trauailed to vexe hys

ſaule

saule at his last breath. But quhairto gather we argumentis as in a doubtfull case, quhen sche hir selfe will nat suffir vs to doubt at all? sche the Quene hir selfe I say opinly protestit, nat to hir loner in bed, nat amang hir confederatis in secret chamber, nat befoir few and meane personis, of estait apt to flatterie, constraynit by pouertie, or of purpose affectionit, sche hir selfe I say opinly confessit, that sche could nat liue ane gude day if sche weir nat ridde of the kyng: and that nat ones, nor vnaduisedly, but in presence of those personagis quhome sche vsit to call to counsell in the weightiest affaires. For it can nat be sayd vnadvisedly slipped from hir that was sa oft spoken, in sa many, sa farre distant placis, with tearis alswa addit to moue credit, befoir men notabill, baith for their nobilitie, wealth, & wisdome, and quhairin sche declairit hir awne opinioun, practisit to winne thair assent, and harkenit for thair aduises. But be it that sche forgid al these things, be it that hir tearis weir faynit, let thaim nat beleue it that heard it, let the greatnes of the outrage make the report vncredibill. I my selfe alswa would gladly be ane of that number, to thinke these thingis vtterit by hir rathir to groape the myndis of vther, than that sche hir self sa thoght in hir hart, if it weir

nat ſa that the thing it ſelfe confirmeth the report, that the outragiouſneſſe of the doingis farre ſurmounteth all bitterneſſe of vtterance.

Quhen he was preparing to depart from Glaſcow, ſche cauſit poyſon to be geuen hym. You will aſke, by quhom? in quhat maner? quhat kind of poyſon? quhair had ſche it? Aſke you theſe queſtions? as though wickit Princis euer wantit miniſteris of thayr wyckit treacheries. But ſtill you preſſe me perhaps and ſtill you aſke me who be theis miniſteris? Fyrſt that poyſoned he was, it is certeinly knawin: for though the ſchamleſneſſe of men wald nat ſticke to denay a thyng ſa manifeſt, yit the kinde of diſeaſe, ſtrange, vnknawin to the pepill, vnacquainted to phiſitiones, ſpecially ſic as had nat bene in Italy and Spayne, blacke pimples breaking out ouer all his body, greuous ache in all his limbes, & intollerable ſtinch, diſcloſe it. Gif thys cauſe wer to be pleaded befoir graue Cato the Cenſor, all thys were eaſie for vs to proue befoyr hym that was perſwadit, that there is na adultereſſe, but the ſaim is alſwa a poyſoner. Need we ſeek for a mair ſubſtantial witneſſe then Cato, euery of whoes ſentences antiquitie eſteemed as ſa many oracles? ſchall we nat in a manifeſt thing beleue him whoes credite hath in

thingis

thingis doutfull sa oft preuayled? Loe here a man of singular vprightnes, and of maist notable faythfulnes and credite beareth witnesse, agayust a woma burnyng in hatrit of hir husband, & in loue of ane adulter, and in baith theis diseasis of corrupt affectiounis vnbridelit, vntemperable by her estayt, raging by hyr power, and indulgently following the wantonnes of hyr wealth. But let vs omit auld and dissuled thingis, and let vs seuer the credite of inconstaunt multitude from the case of Princes. Let vs in sa greit a mater admit no witnesse in quhom eyther hys estait may be suspectit, or his manners may be blamit. Quhat witnessis than schall we vse? for by thys conditioun, we may bring forth none vnder the royall degree of a King or a Quene. But sic vile actis are nat wont to be committit by noble and gud men, but by leud and wickit ministeris. Howbeit that herin alswa the maist precise may be satisfyit, go to, let vs bring forth a royall witnesse. Read her awin letter, her letter (I say) written with her awin hand. What mean theis wordes, He is nat mikle deformit, and yit he hes receiuit mikle. Quairof baith he receauit mikle? The thing it selfe, the disease, the pimples, the sauour do tel you. Euin that perdy he receauit, that brocht deformitie, forsoth veray poyson. But

her letters name not poyſon. Thys is ſufficient for me that is thare ſayit, that though he receauit mikle, he is nat mikle deformit, or, though he be nat mikle deformit, yit he receauit mikle. Quhat meaneth this word Yit? quhat els but this, that quhat ſa euer it was that he receauit, the ſaim was the cauſe of hys deformitie, quhilk though it were mikle, yit was it nat mikle enough to worke ſic deformitie as was deſyrit. But be it, it wer not poyſon: what then was it els? You can finde na thing that can with conuenience of reaſon be named in place of it. Finally quhat ſa euer it be that is meant by thys worde mikle, it is ſic, as ſche hyr ſelfe in ſa ſecreit and familiar a letter dare not call by the right name. Yea and though we wald ſchyft it of by cauillous expounding, yit ſche hyr ſelfe will nat ſuffer vs. Compare that quhilk went befoir with that quhilk folowth, and by hyr deuiſe and purpoſe for tyme to come, ye ſchall eaſely vnderſtand quhat it is that ſche hath done in time paſt. Firſt ſche ſayth it is needfull that he be purged, then ſche determineth to cary him to Cragmillar, quhaire baith the phiſitions, and (quhilk is mair dangerous than any phiſition) ſche hyr ſelfe may be preſēt. Finally ſhe aſketh counſell of Bothwell, quhether he can deuiſe any ſecreter way by medicince, and that

at

at Cragmillar, & after a bath. See how all thingis hang together. He haith receuit mikle, he muſt be purged, and at Cragmillar, that is, in a deſolate corner, in a place by reaſon of ſmale reſorte very apt for a miſchief to be committed. And Medicine he muſt vſe, and quhat forſooth? euen the ſame quhairof he had before receauit mikle. How ſchall that appeare? Sche wil haue the maner of miniſtring the medicine to be ſecret. If it be to heal him, quhat need that ſecrecie? quhy is it nat miniſtrit openly and in a notorious peoplid place? Now he is eaſed of hys ſickneſſe, luſty and healthy, why is he purged in an vnuſuall maner and an vnhaunted corner? But perhaps it was a ſtrange kynde of diſeaſe, it had nede of ſtrange remedies. Quhat Phiſicions then called ſhe to counſell? to quhom is this charge committit to ſeke out a new medicine and curyng for the kyng? Forſothe to the kyngis enemie, to the Quenis adulterer, the vileſt of all twafootit beaſtes, quhoes houſe was in France defamit of poiſonyng, & quhoes ſeruantis wer there for the ſame cauſe, ſome torturit, ſome empriſonit, and all ſuſpectit. Quhen was he pointed to receiue this noble medicine? either at hys bathyng quhair he ſhould waſh alone, or after his bathyng quhair he ſhould ſuppe alone. So forſothe are medicines

accuſtomit to be prouidit by enemies, in ſecret place, without witneſſes. That thairfoir quhilk an adulterer, an adultreſſe, and the partener of his wines bodie, curiouſly prepareth, and ſecretly miniſtreth: quhat kynde of medicine it is, let eche man with hym ſelfe weye and conſider. By this tyme I ſuppoſe you ſee the hatrit of the Quene, how vnappeaſable, how outragiouſly cruell, how obſtinate it was agaynſt hir huſband, quhom ſhe thruſt amõg theiues, quhom ſhe practiſit to match in feude and battail with the nobilitie and with hir brethren, quhom nakit & poore, loden with diſpites, vexit with raylinges, aſſailit with poiſoun, ſhe droue away into ſolitarie corner there to dye with extremeſt torment. Now let vs procede to the vther cauſes.

This hatrit it ſelf was of it ſelf ſufficiẽt to pricke hir forwart to hir enemies ſlaughter, often ſought, ones attemptit, and almoſt atcheued. Yet was there beſides, ane ſtronger enforcement, able to enflame hir hatrit it ſelfe, I meane the loue quhairwith ſhe intemperately fanſied Bothwel: Quhilk loue quhoſoeuer ſaw nat, and yet hath ſeen him, wil perhaps thinke it vncredible. For quhat was there in hym, that was of a womã of any honeſt countenance to be deſired: was there any gift of eloquẽce: or grace

of

of beautie: or vertue of mynde, garnesshit with the benefites quhilk we call of fortune? As for his eloquence and beautie, we nede not make lang tale of thame, sithe baith thay that haue sene hym can well remember hys countenance, his gate, and the hale forme of his bodie, how gay it was: thay that haue heard hym are not ignorant of his rude vttcrance and blockishnesse. But, ye will say, he was in executyng attemptes, wise and politike: in auenturyng of periles, hardy and valiant: in franke geuyng, liberall: in vse of pleasures, temperant. For wisedome, euin thay that be maist affectionate vnto hym, dare nat charge him with it. Of valiantnesse in dede he laboyit to winne some estimatioun, but among horsemen, on a swift stede well mountit, well prouidit for his awne safetie, a beholder of vther mens fighting, sometime hardly chacing thaim that fled, but his enemies face towart hym nere hand he neuer durst abide. Wil ye haue an exemple of his excellent valiantnesse? Of a theise, a notable cowart, quhom beyng yelded and vnware he had deadly woundit he was throwen downe to the ground, hurt, bruisit with dyre strokes, and had ben starke slayne if the poore theises strength beyng redy to dye had nat fayled hym. I cauld rehearse hys glorious vayne braggeries

in France, I cauld tell of his last feare-full flight as far as to Denmark. But I had rather rubbe vp the remembrance of that day quhen the Quene forsakyng him, came to the nobilitie that protestit to reuenge the slaughter of the kyng. The armyes stode redy in array, Both-well in nuimber of men was equall, in place had the auantage: there stode befoir him to be his reward beyng van-quisher, a Quene maist fansiesully lo-uing him, a kyngdome, wealth, and ho-nor, for him and his posteritie, maro-uer impunitie for his offenses passit, extreme libertie to do quhat he list in tyme to come, abilitie to auance his freindes and be reuenged on his ene-mies, and on the vther side if he were vanquishit, dishonor, pouertie, and banishment, finally all thingis that thereafter happenit or hereafter may happen weir then befoir his eyes. There weir also present beside the twa armies, beholders and witnesses of ech mans valiance and cowardice, the Quene the price of the battayle, and Monsieur de Croc the Embassadour of France. Now you luke to heare how this magnificall boaster of valiantnesse did acquit hymselfe. First, mountit vp-on an excellent horse, he came brauely fourth befoir the armye. There the man forsoth very sparing of hys countrimēs

bludc,

blude, and lanithe of his awne, calleth for ane to trie it wyth hym by combat man to man. And quhen there weir many on the vther ſide of honorabill birth and eſtaites, that offrid to accept the cumbat, by and by his violent heate cooled, and his glorious ſpeche quaylit: and had it nat bene that the Quene, as it weir ſome God out of a ginne in a tragedie, had by hir auchoritie taken vp the mattir, and forbidden hir pretty venerrous pigioun to do battaile, he had fayled to finde nat onely a meane but alſwa an honeſt colour to refuſe to fight. And ſa the combat interruptit, yit in the ioynit battrayle he valiantly behauit hym. Farſoth the firſt man, almoſt at the beginning, and alone, he ranne hys way, and ſa at length drew the reſt of his pairt to flee after hym.

But his defaultes in martiall feates, parhappes the man ſupplied with ciuile vertues. Alas quhat weir thay: or quhat vertues coulde be luked for in him: a man perdie brocht vp in the byſchop of Murrayes palace, to wite, a maiſt wickit corruptit houſe, in dronckennes and horedomes, amanſt maiſt vile miniſteries of diſſolute miſorder. After that he was growen towart mãs eſtate, addite and amang harlottes he ſo waſtit a maiſt gudely large reuenue of his inheritance, that (as the Poet

sayth) at his nede he had nat left quhairs with to buy him a halter to hang hym-selfe, he I say that defilit nat onely vthir mens houses with cuckoldrie, but alswa hys awne with incestuous vilanie.

This man therefoir quhen I say to haif ben belouit of the Quene, and nat onely louit, but also outragiously and vntemperately louit, they that knawe it nat, will paraduenture thinke that I tell monstrous wonders. But some man parhaps will say: was there none vther in all the troupe of the youth of nobilitie, beside him mair worthy to be belouit? Certes there were full many. And ane there was, in all thynges that are wont to allure luif, of all vther maist excellent, euen hir awn husband. Quhat was it than that ioynit sa vnegall luif and sa farre against reasoun? If I shall say it was likenesse of conditions, I shall name a likely cause of luif, though to some men parchance it shal seme ane vntrue cause of thair luif. Neither am I willing to enter into that discourse. Neither do I affrime the rumors spred of hir in France in time of hir first mariage: howbeit the wickitnes of the rest of hir life make some proofe that thay rose nat all of nathing. And many thingis that haif bene noysit of hir since hir returne into Scotland, I haue na lust to beleue. As for me I am content thay be

buried

buried in forgetfulnes, or if that can nat be, let thaim be discreditit, let thaim be taken for falle and fainit. Neither alfo is it neceſſarie ouercuriouſly to examine cauſis in luik, quhilk is vſually ſa caryit with raſhe violent motioun of a mudy troublit minde, that for the maiſt pairt it endeth in madnes, quhilke if ye labour to gouerne by diſcrete aduiſe, ye do nathing els but as if ye ſhold endeauour to be mad with reaſon. But yit here alſo there want na cauſis, for there was in thaim baith a likeneſſe, if nat of beautie, if nat of outwart thingis, if nat of vertues, yit of maiſt extreame vices. Sche a young woman, ſodenly aduancit to the hieſt degree of authoritie, quhē ſche had neuer ſeene with hir eyes, heard with hir eares, nor conſiderit in hir hart the forme of a kingdome gouernit by law, and thereto was furniſhit with the vntemperate counſels of hir kinſmen, quho thaimſelfis practiſit to ſet vp a tyrannous rule in Frannce, endeauourit to draw right, equitie, lawes, and cuſtomis of auncеſters to hir awne vnely becke and pleaſure.

Of this immoderate deſire there braſt out from hir many times many wordes diſcloſing it. This ſhe ſtudied day and night. But agayniſt this deſire there withſtode the cuſtome of the contrey, the lawes and ſtatutes, and principally

the consent of the nobilitie, quho remaining safe she could neuer attaine it. To the end thairfoir that she might be able violently to atcheue it, she determinit by force to remoue all that stoode in hir way. But she wist not well, by quhat meane, or by quhoes help to attempt it.

Fraude was the way to worke it, for that otherwise it was not possible to be obteined. For this purpose thairfoir Bothwell onely seemed the fittest man, a man in extreme pouertie, doutfull whether he wer mair vile or mair wickit, & quho betweene factions of sondry religions, despising baith sides, coũterfaitit a loue of tham baith. He quhẽ he had ones befoir offrit ỳ Hamiltounis his seruice to murder ỳ Erle Murray, gaue thairby a likelihode that vpõ hoipe of greater gayne he wald not sticke to aduenture some greater enterpryse, beyng one quhom the ruine of his awne decayed familie pricked forwart hedlang to mischef, and quhom na respect of godlynesse or honestie restrainit from vngracious doyng. As for excessiue and immoderate vse of lecherie, he therin no lesse sought to be famous than vther mẽ do shunne dishonour and infamie. Sche thairfoir a woman gredily coueting vntemperit authoritie, quho esteemit the lawes hir prison, and the bridle of iustice hir bondage, quhen she saw in hir husband na met-

mettall enough to trouble the state, she piked out a man for hir purpose, quho nowther had in his wealth any thyng left to be lost, nor in his fame any thyng remayning that might be stainit, and yet sic a one as stode nat vpon any sic strength but that he might easily be ouerthrowen agayne quhen she should ones ware wery of him: sic a one as she might easely snare his incontinēce with wanton allurementes, satisfie his nede with money, & binde his assuritnes vnto hir with guilty cōscience cōfederatit in mischefis. These be the foūtaines of that same nat vnmeasurable but mad lone, infamous adulterie, and vile parricide, quhairwith, as with a pledge, that bludy mariage quhas plightit. These thairfoir wer the causes of enterprising that haynous act, to wyte, vnappeasable hatrit of hir husband and vntemperabill luif of hir aduoutrer. There was mairouir a hoipe, that the crime might be dinirrit from thaim to vther, and the execution for it might be layde vpon vpon the poore liues of thair enemies, and that men maist giltlesse of the fault might be thrust in thair place as sacrifices to appease the pepils displeasure. Ist nat, quhairto then seruit that battaile almaist begun to be foughten betwene the kyng and Lord Robart hir brother? Quhairto tended those seedis of dis-

corde scaterit betwene the kyng and the nobilitie? Quhair to reachit that curious entreatie to stay the Erle Murray wyth hir the day befoir the murder was committit? Or quhat cause was there to send for hym? There was an Embassadour come out of Sauoy. For quhat cause? Surely it behouit to be a great cause, and sic as coulde nat be ended without assembly of the nobilitie. No, God wote. The Embassadour of Sauoy, being bidden to late to the christening, came quhen all was ended, nat for ane Embassadour to the christening, but as ane sent to excuse the neglecting of doing that kindenesse, quhen baith he liked not to send sa farre for sa small a mattir, and he was somequhat aschamit to haif faylit in presence, quhen the Frenchmen and Inglishmen had alredy done it. For the maire honorabill dismissing of hym, the Earle Murray was sent for, and that with sondry messingers to cum from his wife that lay dying. Quhat nede was there then of his presence? to draw hym to be a partner in conspiracie of the slaughtir? Quhy was it neuer attemptit befoir? Thought thay it best, then at the last point, at the very instant quhen the murder shoulde be committit, to ioyne him to thair fellowschip, as a light man, incõstant, and shifting his purposis at euery moment

of

of tyme, infamous in his former life, and nat well assurit in his present staite? Na there is none of these thingis that they yet dare say of hym: Sith then thay can nat imagine a false cause to stay hym, quhat was the trew cause in deid ech man may easily gather: euen the same that causit first the Earle of Athol, & afterwartis hym to depairt from the court: the same that sa oft brocht hym in dangir of deith: the same that had sclaunderit hym wyth false rumors scaterit in Jngland: the same that prosecutit hym with infamous libelles of the murderers thamselfis: the same that made him to chuse raither to goe into banischment, than to remayne in court amang ruffians weapons with great perill of his life.

But quhat auayleth thys equitie of the cause befoir hearers eyther vtterly ignorãt of the mater how it was done, or of tham selfis dissauouring this pairt and enuyous, or apt to be caryit away with faynit rumors, quhilk esteme the sclanders of maist lewd slight persons, for sad testimonies, and geue credite to these men, quho boasting at home that thay are able to do what that list, yit neither dare commit thayr cause to the sentence of the Judges, nor were abill to defend tham selfis in battaill. And as by guilty conscience of offensis thay fearit

iugement: so by raige growen of thayr giltinesse thay runne hedlang to battail, and from battayll runne cowartly away: and now againe quhen standing vpon the aduantage that they haif baith in number and wealth, thay scorne the wisedome of thair aduersareis, and despise thair power in comparison of thair awin: yit distrusting to preuayle by trew manhoode, they fall to robbery, and turne thayr vngracions minde tormentit with inwart terrouris of giltie cõscience, to sclandering, camilyng, & leasing, quhom yet for the gude wil that I beir to my conterymẽ, I waid aduise to ceasse from thys folly, or fury, or disease of euill speiking, lest in time to come, quhen truth shall shine out, thay shut vp and stop with hatrit of tham thole persons eares to thayr petitiounis, quhom now they new fill & lode with false rumouris, for thare wyll nat alway be place for forgeuenes: but as darckues at the sunne shining, so lyes at the light of treuth must vanische away.

As for the comuodious meanes for committing that vile fact, and the hoipe of hiding it, I neid nat to pursue the declaring of tham in many wordis, sith baith the easinesse to do it, the opportuneis of placis, and all aduauncementis of occasiouns and seasons were in their owne power. And to hide the fact quhat

neidit

neidit thay, quhē thay feirit na punisch-
ment gif it were pnbliſchit? For quhat
punischment cauld they feir in ſa ſtrang
a conſpiracie? quhen baith the force of
lawes, quhairof thaim ſelfis wer gouer-
nours, was vtterly extinguiſchit, and
the mindis of maiſt pairt of men weir
eyther ſmarit with partenerſchip of the
miſchieuous fact, or caryit wyth hoip,
or foreſtallit wyth rewardis, or diſcou-
ragit and bridelit wyth feare of ſa greit
a power on the vther pairt? But how
ſa euer thys be, yit ſchall it be gude to ſee
throughly baith the order of the duing,
the vnaduiſidnes, inconſtancie, and end
of thayr deuiſis. For tharwithall ſchall
ye perceiue that thare wanted nat deſire
to hyde the fact, but that the furor of a
diſtracted minde ouerthrew all the or-
der of thair coūſels, quhile ſome time as
deſyrous to beguyle publike fame, thay
endenourit to keip cloſe thayr intendit
miſchiefe, yit thay dealt tharein ſa opin-
ly, as gif careleſſe of thair eſtimatioun
thay ſeemit to make ſmall accompte
howe men iudged of thayr duyngis.
For the poyſoun at his preparyng to go
to Blaſco was geuen hym ſecretly, and
thay thoght thay had ſufficiently well
prouidit that he ſhould in hys abſence
from thaim be conſumit with pynyng
ſickneſſe. But the reſt of thair dealinges
towart hym wer ſa cruelly handlit, that

though his diſeaſe ſhold haue happenit to be naturall, yet it wald haue ben ſuſpectit for poyſonyng. For he hir huſband, the father of hir onely and firſt borne childe, the father I ſay of that ſonne quhoes Chriſtenyng was ſolemniſit with ſa greate pompe and glorie, beyng eſcapit away in maner nakit as it wer out of his houſe flamyng in fier, tormentit by the waye with greuous peine, quhé he lay at Glaſcow of a dangerous ſickneſſe likely to dye, quhat did hys excellent gude wife the quhile? Quhat dyd ſche? At the firſt newes of it dyd ſhe haſt to him in poſt? Doth ſche with her preſence, with hir freindly familiar ſpech, or with hir louyng countenance comfort hym in ſickneſſe? quhen ſhe can nat ſtay him in life, commeth ſhe to receiue his laſt breath? cloſeth ſhe hys eyes at his deyng? doth ſhe the vther kinde duties of honeſt matrones? No. But ſhe that had now let him eſcape to goe and dye, and hopit that he cauld not linger out hys vnhappy life but a few dayes langer, getteth hir a cleane contrary way into an vther contrey in progreſſe, and with hir faire Adonis ſhe viſiteth noble mens houſes, and ſtayneth the houſes that harborit them with the ſpottes of thair vnchaſtities, and iuſt about the tyme of hir huſbandes death (as ſhe geſſit by the ſtrength and wor-

kyng

kyng of the poysoun) she returneth to Stercline. Quhen the mater wrought not sa fast as she lukit for & the strength of his youth had wrastlit with the sore= nesse of the peine, least she sholde seme to haue altogether forsaken hir dutie, sche daily prepareth to go to Glasco, but ne= uer goeth. At the last disapointit of the hope that sche had conceiuit in hir hart, she taketh hir to vther deuises. She commeth to Edenburgh and there cal= leth to counsell hir aduocatrer and a few vther priuie of those secrets. There thay decree that in any wise the kyng must be slayne. Yet wer thay nat fully aduisit with quhat kinde of death he should be murderit. Quhilk may easily be ga= therit by hir letter quhairin she partly compareth hir selfe with Medea a blu= dy woman and a poysoning witch. Al= swa by an vther of hir letters quharin she asketh aduise about the poysonyng him. The kyng quho had alredy tastit of hir louely cuppe, dontyng whether he wer better any mair to beleue hir flatte= ring speches, or to feare the shrewdnesse of hir nature, though sometime he de= speirit not of hir reconciliation, yet euer was somewhat mair feareful and suspi= cious. But quhen he saw that nouther his life nor his death wer in his power, he was constrainit in silence to purse vp his passit iniuries, to dissemble hys pre=

sent feare, and to fayne him selfe some hope for tyme to come. So was he led out nat as a husband, but carried out as a corse, or rather drawen as it wer to the shambles. The Quene gloriously shewyng hir selfe in pompous maner goeth before in triumph ouer the yong gentleman vexit with all kynde of iniuries, tormentit with poyson, entrappit with treasons and drawen to execution. There followe after the triumphant carre, the auncient enemies to his fathers house, brought thether for the nones, that thay alswa might fede thair eyes with that woefull spectacle, and quhoes death at hād thay lukit for, thay might in the meane tyme take pleasure of the sorow of his hart. And that na ceremonie of solemne sacrifices might be wāting, Jhon Hamilton Archbishop of of S. Androwes was present as thair priest, a man before defiled with all kind of wickitnesse, pāpered with the spoyles and murders of hys contreymen, ane auld conquerour of many murderyng victories. The pepill, all alang the way lukyng pitiously shewit a foreboding of na gude lucke to come. The Quenes companiōs, could nouther well enough faine thair sadnesse nor hide thair gladnesse, quhen the haynous outrage of the vile fact intēdit held thair vnmesurable ioy in some suspense vpon expectatiō of

the

the succesſe. Thus led they him to Edē-
burgh, nat into the quenis palace. Why
so? Least the infection of the peſtilent di-
ſeaſe forſoth might hurt hir yong ſonne:
as though thay that be poyſonit wer al-
swa to be ſhonned for feare of infection.
But the truer cauſe was this, leaſt hys
preſence ſhould trouble thaim, in inter-
cuptyng thair free enioyng thair plea-
ſures, and thair conſultations about his
murder. Quhether then is he led? into
the maiſt deſolate part of ỹ town, ſome-
time inhabitit quhile the popiſh prieſtes
kingdome laſtit, but for certayne yeares
paſt, without any dweller, in ſic a houſe
as of it ſelfe wald haſt fallen downe if it
had nat bene botched vp for the tyme to
ſerue the turne of this nightis ſacrifice.
Quhy was this place chiefly choſin?
they pretend the holeſomneſſe of ayre.
O good God. Going about to murder
hir husband, ſeeketh ſche for a holeſome
ayre? to quhat vſe? not to preſerue hys
life, but to reſerue his body to torment.
Hereto tend hir wifely diligent atten-
dance & hir laſt care of hir husbands life.
She feareth leaſt he ſhould by preuen-
ting death be deliuerit from peine, ſche
wald fayne haue him feele himſelfe dye.
But let vs ſee quhat maner of holeſom-
neſſe of ayre it is. Is it amang dead
mens graues to ſeeke the preſerning of
life? For hard by there were the ruines

of twa Kirkes: on the East side a Monasterie of Dominike Friers: on the west a Kirke of our Ladie, quhilke for the desolatenes of the place is callit the Kirke in the fielde: on the South side the towne wal, and in the same for commodious passage euery way is a posterne doore: on the North side are a few beggers cotages, thē redy to fall, quhilk sometime seruit for stewes for certayne Priestes and Monkes, the name of quhilke place doth plainely disclose the forme and nature thereof, for it is commonly callit Theifis Lane. There is neuer an vther house nere, but the Hameltons house, quhilke is about a stonis cast distant, and that also stoode voyde. Thether remoueth the Archbyschop of S. Andrewes, quho alway before was wont to be lodgit in the maist populous pairtes of the towne. He also watchit all that night that the kyng was slayne. Now I beseche you, sith you can nat wyth your eyes, yet at the least wyth your mindes behalde, a house quhilome of auld Priests, amang grauis, betwene the ruines of twa temples, it selfe also ruinous, neere to the theefis haunt, & it selfe a receiter of theefis, nat farre from the fort and garrisoun of hys enemyes that stoode right ouer against the doore, by quhilke if any man should flye out, he could nat escape thair traiterous em-

bush-

bushment. The very shape of this place quhen ye consider in your minde, quhen ye heare of the ruines of Kirkes, grauis of dead men, lurking corners of theefis, brothelhouses of harlotes, doth nat, I say, nat the house onely, but also euery pairt neare about it seeme to proclaime mischiefe and trecherie? Semeth here a king to haue gone into ahouse for lodging, or to be thrust into a den of theefis? was not that desolate wastnesse, that vnhauntit place abil of it self to put simple men in feare, to make wiser men suspicious, & to geue naughty mẽ shrewd occasions? Quhat ment his enemyes vnwontit repayre into those pairtes, and watching all night in maner harde at hys gate? Quhy chose he now thys plaice for his lodging against hys former vsage? The house, ye will say, was empty, and his brothers house, and neare to the kynges lodging. It was empty long befoir, quhy lodgit you neuer there befoir? Quhy forsooke you the populous places in the hart of the citie, and neareneſſe to the Court, and thrust your selfe in a desolate corner? quhat profite, quhat commoditie, quhat pleasure herein respectit you? was it your meaning that you beyng ane that euer had bene a gredy coueiter of popular fame, and catcher of courtiers wyth baytes of gude chere, now wald of your

awne accorde goe hide your selfe in a blynde hole out of all companie and resort? that you one raither ouerwhelmit than laden with plentie of benefices, went thether to delite your hart in the ruines of temples? But bee it that your comming thether was but by chaunce, and that you had some causes to goe thether, though nat trew, yet somequhat likely. Quhat meant your vnwontit watching all night? quhat meant the fearefull murmuring of your seruantis that night, quhom yet in that publike tumult you commaundit, nat ones to stirre out of dores? But quhat cause had they to goe out? was it to haif vnderstanding of the matter quhairof your selfe were an autor and deuiser? no, for out of your awne watch towre, you heard with your eares the noyse of the ruine, you saw the smoke and ashes with your eyes, you dranke vp the ioy thereof in your hart, and the sauor of the gunnepouder you in maner snuffed vp at your nose. Perhappes you meant to send out some to receiue thaim that fled. but you saw no man flee. And therefore the lightes that were seene out of the hyest part of your house all the night long, were, as vpon the lucky ending of the thing that you lookit for, euen then sodenly put out.

But let vs return to the King. They

thought

thought it nat enough to haue set opin the posterne in the wall, to let in thiefis thereat, nor to haue set an ambush beſoir the doore, that none ſhauld eſchaipe, but alſwa thay kept wyth thaim ſelfis the kayis of twa doris, the one of the lower roome quhare thay had vndermynit the wall, and fillit the holes with gunpowder, and the vther of the vpper roome, that the murderaris might come to the King in hys bed. Than of theis few ſeruauntis that he had, they withdrew the greiter number, beyng ſic as wer beſoir ſet about him nat ſa mikle to do him ſeruice, as to be ſpyes of hys ſecretes, and cary newis to the Quene. The laſt that was leſte, one Saunder Duraine, quhen he could finde no reaſonable excuſe to depairt, was thruſt out by the Queue her ſelfe. Sche in the meane time, meaning not to fayle in playing hyr pairt, quhile Bothwell is in preparing the tragical ſtage for the murder, dayly viſiteth the King: hys heart paſſionit with loue ſometime ſche comforteth with ſweete promiſis, ſometime ſche vexeth with brawlinges, and ſtyll kepeth his witte occupyit wyth ſuſpitiounis, and rightly repreſentith in action the Poetes fable, quharin is faynit, that Prometheus his liuer daily growing to ſuffice to new tormentes, is daily gnawin and tyerit vppon by an Egle.

For after the veray saim manner sometime sche cherisheth and refreshith the silly yong gentleman, to none vther end but that he may haif lyfe remayning to suffer moe sorowis.

Now I beseech you euery one thinke with your selfis vpon the fresh duing of the fact, how mens hartis were mouit, quhen euin now theis thingis can not be heard reportit without indignation. There was prouidit by the maist wickit man in the warld, by hys enemie, by his wiefis aduoutrer, a house in maner seuerit from all haunt of men, fitter for a slaughter house, than for mans dwelling: it is prouidit for a yong gentilman, vnprouident by youth, easie to be trappit in treasoun by loue, spoylit of hys seruauntes, forsaken of hys frendis: a house (I say) torne, solitarie, on euery syde not onely nat close, but alswa opin to passe through, the kayes therof in his enemeis custodie, no man lefte within but a yong man nat yit recouerit of sicknesse, and an auld man feble by age, and twa strangeris vnacquaintit with the places, matter, and persons, no man dwelling neire but hys enemeis and thiefis. But as for danger of thiefis the gude forecasting woman had well prouidit, for sche had left him na thing to allure a thief withall: and as for hys eneneis, sche had appointed tham to be

but

but lukers on, and nat pairtplayers in this tragedie: but the glorie of the fact sche reseruis to hyr self and Bothwell.

Quhat in the meane time doth the Quenes greit carefulnesse? quhat meaneth hir vnwontit resort? quhat hir malicious, and not obsequious diligence? Sche visiteth him daily, sche prolongith hir talke with hym many houris together, twa nightis sche resteth in a lower chamber vnder him, gif giltie conscience of maist haynous duingis can from tormentis of furies suffer that outragious hart to rest at all. Sche feirit perdie, lest if the lower place of the house were left emptie, the noyse of the vnderminers working, and of the bringers in of the powder, should bring some of the seruantes in some suspitioun of treachery. Besyde that sche had a minde to see the thing done her selfe rather then to commit it to the trust of any vther. She had a desire to take a foretast of the ioye to come, and quhen sche could nat wyth hir eares, yit at leist with hir hart to conceiue aforehand the fyre, the smoke, the powder, the cracke of the house falling, the fearefull troubill, the tumulte, the confuse dismayednesse of the doers, the thiefis, and the pepill. All thingis thus preparit for that dolefull night, then entreth sche into the last care of hir gude fame: sche endeuourith to diuert all su-

spiciounis from hir, sche goeth to hir husband, sche kisseth him, sche geueth him a ring for pledge of hir loue, sche talketh with him mair louingly then she was wont to do, and promiseth mair largelie, sche faynith that sche hath greit care of his health, and yit her companieng with hir adulter sche surceaseth nat.

Thay that mair nerely notit these thyngis, prognosticatit na gude thyng to come. For how mekle the greater tokens that the Quene shewit of reconcilit affectioun, so mekle the mair cruelitie dyd euery man in his hart foreconceiue of all hir intentions. For els quhense commeth that sodein chaunge? Quhense commeth sa great a care for hym quhom she had poysonit but the moneth befoir, quhom euin lately sche nat onely wishit dead but alswa desirit to see hym dye, quhoes death sche set hir brother, yea baith hir brethren, to procure, and sche like a mayster of mischef thrust forth the kyng to fight, and hir selfe in the meane tyme preparit for his buriall? Not past a few monethes befoir, sche hir selfe was desirous to dye, bycause she lothed to see the king alyue. Quhense commeth now this sodeine care for his health? I luke she shold say she was reconcilit to him. Were you reconcilit to your husband, quhom you sent away into ẏ desert, that camp of furies as the Poet calleth it? for

quhom

quhom among brothellhouses of har-
lottes, among beggers cotages, among
theifes lurkyng holes, you preparit a
house sa open to passe throughe that you
left therin mair entries then men to shut
them: you that allurit and assemblit ruf-
fians to his slaughter, and theifes to his
spoyle? you that droue away hys ser-
uantes that shold haue defendit his life?
you that thrust hym out nakit, alone,
vnarmit, among theifes to be slayne?
quhen in all this miserable state of your
husband, your adulterer in the meane
tyme dwelt in your palace, dayly haun-
tit your chamber, day & night all doores
wer open for hym, quhile your poore
husband barred from al companie of the
nobilitie, his seruants forbiddē to come
at hym or sent away from him, was for-
saken and thrust away into solitarie de-
sert for a mockyng stocke, and I wald
to God it had ben for a mockyng stocke
onely? Of his vther seruantes I en-
quire nat. I do nat curiously question
why thay went away, why thay then
specially forsoke the kyng, quhen he
chefely neded thair helpe and seruice,
quhen he was newly recouerit, quhen
he began to go abrode and had none
vther companie. Of Sawnder Duraun
I can nat kepe silence, quhom you had
for his keper and your spie. Quhat was
there for hym to espie? was there any

thyng for him to bryng newes of to an honest matrone, louyng to hir husband, faithfull in wedlocke, and fearefull of a partener of his loue? Fearit she least he a yongman, beautifull, and a king, shold cast wanton eyes vpon some vther woman in her absence? Na God wot. For that was it that she maist desired. For sche hir selfe had practisit to allure him thereto befoir, she hir self had offerit hym the occasions, and of hir selfe shewit him the meanes. This was it that most grenit hir quhile she was sekyng causes of diuorce, that she could nat finde in hym sa mekle as any sclender suspicioun of adulterie. Why then were spies set about hym to watch him? was it not that none of the nobilitie, none of his seruantes, nor any stranger at all should come at hym, that na man should speake with him that might disclose the treason and warne hym of his daunger? This same very Sawnder how carefully sche saueth, quhen she goeth about to kill hir husbande? how late sche sendeth hym away quhen the reste were gone, euen at the very point of hir husbandes death, quhen she had now na mair nede of espialles? For the day befoir the murder committit, there was none of the ministers that were priuie of hir secret counsels left behinde but onely Sawnder. Be quhen he saw that night no lesse

dole-

dolefull then shamefull to approche, pre-
pareth, as hymselfe thought, a fine suttle
excuse to be absent, so as rather chaunce
might seme to haue driuen him out, then
he him selfe willingly to haue forsaken
his maister. He putteth fire in his awne
bedstraw, and quhen the flame spred
further, he made an outcrie, & threw his
beddyng halfe singit out of the kyngis
chamber. But the next day quhen that
excuse seruit nat sa handsomly as he de-
sirit, for that in the Quenis hearyng, the
kyng very swetely entreatit him nat to
leaue him alone that night, and alswa
desirit him to lye with him selfe, as he
had often vsit to do, for the kyng entier-
ly louit hym aboue all the rest, Saun-
der in perplexitie wanting quhat to an-
swere, addit to his first excuse feare of
sickneſſe, and pretendit, that for commo-
dious takyng of phisike for his health he
wald lye in the town. Quhen this wald
nat yet serue him, the Quene addit hir
authoritie and told the kyng that he dyd
nat wel to kepe the yongman with him
against the order of his health, and ther-
with sche turnit to Saunder, & bad him
goe quhair was best for hym: and forth-
with as sone as the word was spokē he
went his way. I will nat here preciſely
trace out all the footynges of the wickit
doynges. Nouther will I curiously en-
quire, whether that former dayes fier
wer happenit by casualtie or kindlit by

fraude. Neither will I aſke why he that had ſa oft ben receiuit to lye in ý kyngis awn bed, doth now this only night ſpecially refuſe it. Let vs ſuppoſe that ſickneſs was ý cauſe therof. This onely ane thing I aſke, quhat kinde of ſickenes it was, that came vpō him at the very inſtant, & befoir morning left him agayne without any phiſitions helpe, and quhairof neither afoir, nor ſince, nor at that preſent, there neuer appearit any token? And I truſt, though he hold his peace, ye all ſufficiently vnderſtand it. In the man gilty in conſcience of the miſcheuous intentioun, feare of death ouercame regard of dutie. Had it nat bene that Saunder, befoir time a ſpie & talebearer, now a forſaker and betrayer of his maiſter, was ioynit to hir in priuitie of all theſe wickit doinges, wald nat the Quene ſa cruell in all the reſt, haue founde in hir hart to beſtow that ane ſacrifice vpon hir huſbandis funerallis? Quhile theſe thyngis were in doing, the night was farre paſt, & my Lady Kercle a luſty valiant ſoldiar, befoir ſigne geuen cummeth forth into the field out of array, abroad ſche goeth, getteth hir to Horſebacke, and though ſche were somewhat afrayd, as ane that foreknew of the ſtorme to cum, yit ſche ſate ſtill on horſebacke tarying for the Quene, but yit a gude pretie way from the houſe. In the meane tyme Paris

cum-

cummeth, & then the communicatioun
brake, and they rose to depart. For by
and by vpon sight of him came to hir re-
membrance that haynous offence that
without great propitiations coulde nat
be purgit, forsoth that the Quene had
nat dauncit at the wedding feast of Se-
bastian the minstrell and vile iester, that
sche sate by hir husband quho had nat yit
fully recouerit his health, that at the
banquet of hir domesticall parasite sche
had nat played the dauncing skit. A
matter surely worthy of excuse. But
quhat should she els do? sche must nedes
goe as sone as sche saw Paris, for sa it
was agreit, and somequhathmust neides
be pretendit. How happenit it that the
vther nightis befoir quhen sche went a-
way earlyer, sche made na excuse at all,
and now hir departure about midnight
must nedes haif an excuse allegit? But
be it sa. Coulde sche remember na bet-
ter excuse than Sebastians wedding?
No no, I say to the contrary that if sche
had left the wedding of hir awne natu-
rall brother, or hir sister, to visite hir
husband though but a little crased, sche
had had a iust excuse befoir all men sa to
do. Quhat if sche had done the saime
kindnes for the kyng being nat hir hus-
band, or for any vther of the nobilitie?
Is Sebastians wedding of sic a value,
that a maisking daunce thereat is to be

preferrit befoir wiuely dutie and loue: But surely in this curious excusing and pretendit sorrow of neglectit dutie, somequhat lieth hidden, and yit nat sa hidden but that it appeareth through the closure. This ouirmickle precisenes of diligēce, in excusing quhair na nede is, haith some suspicioun of some secrit mischiefe that you are loth to haue disclosit, and the slightnesse of the excuse, encreaseth the suspitioun, specially quhē there were vther matters enow that she might better haue allegit. But let vs admit ẏ excuse, sith ẏ queue hir self hath thought it reasonabill. Quhether then goeth sche? streight into hir chamber. Quhat doth sche next? weryit wyth the dayes trauaill and the nights watching goeth sche to bed? no, but sche falleth to talking with Bothwell first almaist alone, and afterwart alone altogether. Quhat talke she had, ẏ matter it self declareth. For Bothwell after that he had put of his clothes as if he wald haue gone to bed, byandby putteth on vther apparell. Going to do the deid, he wald nat be knawen. I like well the mās policie. But his way was to goe through the watch. Here I maruell at hys madnesse. But mens wittes beset with giltinesse of mischiefis, do commonly bewray thaimselfis by their awne inconstancie, and blinde to all vther

thingis

thingis, do ſee onely that quhilk thay haue bent thair mynde vnto. Quhat he did, the kingis deith, hys awne running away, the confeſſioun of the guilty perſonis, & vther thingis that folowit the murder, do declaire. After the great vproir in the towne abont it, he as ane vtterly ignorant of all, returneth thorough the ſaime watch to bed. Quhen noyſe of the ruine had fillit all mens eares, and the cracke of it had ſhaken all the houſes, onely the Quene intentiue to expectatioun of the chaunce and broade awake, heareth nathyng at all, and Bothwell heareth nathyng. O marueilous deifneſſe! All vther thorough out the towne, as many as were awake were affrayit, and as many as ſlept wer awakit. At the laſt Bothwell ryſeth agayne, and in one ſelf enterlude ſodenly ſhifting his part from the Poet beõmeth a meſſenger, he runneth to ỹ Quene, and thether reſort alſwa vther that lodgit in the palace. To ſome the matter ſeemit true, to ſome faynit, to ſome marueilous. Quhat doth the Quene the quhiles? Quhat ſhould ſche do? She temperately brooketh hir gude lucke, ſche reſteth ſweetly till the next day at noone. Yit the day folowing, to obſerue decorum and comely conuenience in hir pairt without marring the play, ſche counterfeiteth a mourning,

quhilke yit neyther hir ioyfulnes dwel-
ling withall in hart ſuffreth lang to be
ſaynit, nor ſchaime permitteth to be
quholy neglectit. Theis thingis thus
lying opin befoir your eyes, thus pal-
pable with handis, thus faſt empreutit
in mens earis and knowledge, ſtande
we yit in enquiring for the author of the
murder, as though it were doubtfull:
But ye ſay, the Quene denyith it: what
denyith ſche: Forſooth that ſche did the
murder: as though there were ſa greit
a difference if ye be the author or the ex-
ecutor, gif ye commaund it or commit it.
Sche gaue hir counſell, hir furtherance,
hir power and authoritie to the duing
of it. Neither is the cauſe vnknawin
quhy ſche did it, euin that the ſaim filthy
mariage with Bothwell might be ac-
compliſhit. Though all which argu-
mentis and ſa many witneſſis of thaime
that wer priuie to it fayllit, yit by hir
awin teſtimonie, by hir awin letters it
muſt neidis be confeſſit. And though
all vther thingis wantit, theſe thingis
that folowit the murder do plainly de-
clare the doer, namely, that at ỹ ſlaugh-
ter of hir huſband ſhe ſorrowit nat, but
quietly reſtit as after a gay enterpriſe
well atchieuit: that ſche mournit nat,
but in maner openly ioyed: that ſche
could abide not onely to luke vpon his
dead body, but alwa gredely beheld it:

that

that ſche ſecretly in the night buryit him without funerall pompe, or rather hid him like a thief: for that ſaine ſo inconſtant counterfeiting of mourning did plainly bewray it ſelfe. For quhat ment that remouing to Setons? quhy ſhonned ſche the townis reſort and peoples eyes? was it becauſe ſche was aſchamit to mourne openly? or becauſe ſche could nat wel cloke hir ioy? or ſecretly to giue hir ſelf all to ſorow? No, for at Setons ſche threw away all hir diſguiſit perſonage of mourning, ſche went daily into the fieldes among ruffians, and nat only reſortit to hir former cuſtome, but alſwa affectit to exerciſe manly paſtimes, and that among men and openly. So lightly ſche deſpiſit the opinioun and ſpeich of her countrey. But I beſhrew that ſaine Kiligree, and that ſain Monſieur de Croc, that came vpon hir ſa vnſeaſonably, and ſchewit to vther hyr counterfeited perſon vnmiſorid. For, had not they bene, many thingis that were done might haif bene denyit, many thingis might haif bene handſomely ſaynit, and mikle the matter might haif bene holpen by forgit rumouris.

But they will ſay thare was a ſolemn enquirie for the murder. Forſooth by Bothwell him ſelfe principally, and by ſome vther that than laboured, and yit at this day do labour to deliuer the per-

sons giltie thereof, from punischement of law, and do now plainly shew quhat they than secreitly meant. But wyth quhat diligence, with quhat vpright seueritie was that enquirie handlit? A few poore saules the nexte dwelling neighbouris to the Kingis lodging being callit, neither durst tell quhat thay had seene and heard, and gif thay touchit any thing neir the matter, eyther they wer with feare put to silence, or dispisit as of na credite: the wiser sort of them durst not offende Bothwell that sate among the Judges. Ane or twa of the Kingis seruantis that eschapit the mischaunce, wer examinit quhilk way the murderaris came in. Forsoth, sayit thay, we had not the kayes. Quho then had them? It was aunswerit that the Quene had them. So began the secrets of the Court to breake out. Then was ỳ enquirie adiornit, & neuer recontinuit. Quhat can be more seuere and vpright then this enquirie? & yit they preuailit nathing by it. For quhat the examiners wald haif had kept secret, that the pepill cryit out opinly: that quhilk they suppressit, bursteth forth: that quhilk they cloke in secreit, breaketh out into broad light. Bur there was a proclamation set forth, with pardon of the fact and promise of reward to him that wald utter it. Why? quho had ben sa mad, that he durst in sa

ma-

manifest perill of his life beare witnesse or gene information agaynst the iudges tham selues in quhoes power lay hys lyfe and his death? It was likely forsothe, that they quhilk had murderit a kyng, wald spare him that shold disclose ỳ murderer, specially quhen all men saw that the enquirie of the kingis slaughter was quite omittit, and the vther enquirie seuerely pursuit concernyng bukes acculing the slaughter. what maner of iugement it was quhairby Bothwell was acquittit, you haue heard. Forsothe by hym selfe procurit, the iudges by him selfe chosen, the accusers by him self suborne, lawfull accusers forbidden to be present vnlesse thay wald yeld thair throtes to thair enemies weapons: the assise apointit nouther to a day accordyng to the law of the land, nor after the maner of the contrey, nor to enquire of the murder of the kyng; but of sick a murder as was allegit to be committit the day befoir that the king was slayne. Here quhen Bothwell by his freindship and power, and the Quene by prayer & threatenings trauailit with the iudges, do you now expect quhat sentence men chosen agaynst law, and agaynst the custome of the land haue pronounced? In thair iugement thay touchit the matter nathyng at all: onely this thay haue declarit, that it was na lawfull iugement,

in this that with ane speciall protestatiõun thay prouidit, that it should nat be preiudiciall to thaim in tyme to come.

Then, that all men might vnderstand what it was that thay sought by sword, fire, and poisoun, thay iumble vp mariages: one is diuorcit, an vther is conplit, and that in sic posting spede as thay might scant haue haskit to furnish a triumph of some noble victorie. Yet that in those vnlawfull weddinges, some shew of lawfull order might be obseruit, the gudely banes were openly proclamit. For publishyng wherofthough the Minister of the Kirk were threetenit with death if he did it not, yet at the tyme of his publishyng, hym selfe openly protested that he knew cause of exceptioun why that mariage was nat lawful. But in sic a multitude assemblit, how few wer thay that knew it nat: sith all could well remember that Bothwell had then alyue twa wiues alredy not yet diuorcit, and the thyrd nouther lawfully marijt nor orderly diuorcit. But that was nat it that was intendit, to obserue the ceremonies of lawful order, but (as thay vse to do in enterludes) thay prouidit a certain shew or disguisit counterfayting of commoun vsage. For he that hath oft broken all humane lawes, and hath cast away all conscience and religion, could easily neglect the course of Gods law.

Now

Now I suppose I haue breefely declarit (in respect of the greatnesse of the mater) and yet perhaps in mair wordes then nedit (the playnnesse of the proues considerit) of quhat purpose, by quhat counsell, and vpon quhat hope, that hainous murder was attēptit, with what cruelty it was executit, by quhat tokens, aduertisements, testimonies, and letters of the Quene hir selfe the whole mater is prouit, and sa plainly prouit, that it may be as openly seene as if it lay befoir your eyes: yet will I shew fourth the testimonie of the hale pepill, quhilk I thinke worthy nat to be neglectit. For seuerall men do commounly deceiue & ar deceiuit by vther, but na mā deceueth all men, nor is deceiuit by all. This testimonie of the pepill is this. Quhen at the Quenis going abrode amang the pepill, the greatest pairt of the commōs were wont to make acclamations, wishing hir well and happily with sic speches as either luif enforceth or flatterie inuenteth: now at hir going after the kingis slaughter to the castell through ỳ chiefe and maist populous strete of the towne, there was all the way a sad glūming silence. And quhen ane woman alone of the multitude had cryit God saue the Quene, an vther by and by sa cryit out as all men might heare hir, Sa be it to euery ane as thay haif deseruit.

Albeit theſe thingis were thus done as I haue declairit, yet there are ſome that ſtick nat to ſay that the Quene was nat onely hardly but alſo cruelly dealt with, that after ſa deteſtabill a fact ſche was remouit from regiment: and quhen thay cãnat deny the fact, thay complaine of the punishment. I do nat thynke there will be any man ſa ſchameleſſe to thinke that ſa horribill a fact ought to haue na punishment at all. But if thay complayne of the grenouſneſſe of the penaltie, I feare leaſt to all gude men we may ſeeme nat to haue done ſa gently & temperately as looſely and negligently, that haue layde ſa light a peine vpon an offence ſa hainous and ſic as was neuer heard of before. For quhat can be done cruelly againſt the author of ſa outragious a deid, quhairin all lawes of God and man are violate, deſpiſit, & in maner wholy extinguiſhit? Euery ſeuerall offence hath his punishment hath by God and man appointit: and as there be certaine degreis of euill deides, ſa are there alſo encreaſes in the quantities of punishmentis. If one haue killit a mã, it is a deid of it ſelf very haynous. Quhat if he haue killit his familiar frend? quhat if his father? quhat if in one fowle fact he hath ioynit all theſe offences together? Surely of ſic a ane, neyther can his life ſuffice for impoſing, nor

hys

hys body for bearing, nor the Iudges policie for inuenting payne enough for him. Quhilke of these faultes is nat cõpriſit in thys offence? I omit the meane commoun matters, the murdering of a young gentleman, an innocent, hir coũtriman, hir kinſman, hir familiar, and hir couſin germane. Let vs alſo excuſe the fact if it be poſſible. She vnaduiſidly, a youngwoman, angry, offendit, and ane of great innocencie of lyfe tyll this time, hath ſlaine a lewde youngman, an adulter, an vnkinde huſband & a cruel king. If nat any ane, but all theſe reſpectes together, were in this matter, they ought nat to anaile to ſhift of all puniſhment, but to rayſe ſome pitie of the caſe. But quhat ſay you that none of theſe thingis can ſa mickle as be faithfully pretendit? The fact it ſelfe, of it ſelfe is odious: in a womã, it is monſtrous: in a wife nat oncly exceſſiuely louit, but alſo maiſt zelouſly honorit, it is vncredibill: and beyng cõmittit againſt hym quhoes age craue pardon, quhoes harty affectioun requirit loue, quhoſe nighneſſe of kinrit aſkit reuerence, quhoſe innocencie might haif deſeruit fauour, vpon that youngman I ſay, in quhom there is nat ſa mickle as allegit any iuſt cauſe of offence, thus to execute and ſpend, yea to exceede all tormẽtis due to all offencis,

in quhat degree of crueltie shall we accompt it? But let these thingis auayle in vther personis to rayse haitrit, to bring punishment, and to make examples to posteritie. But in this case let vs beare mickle wyth hir youth, mickle with hir nobilitie, mickle with the name of a Prince. As for myne awne pait I am nat ane that thinke it alway gude to vse extreme strictnesse of lawe, na nat in priuate, meane, & commoun personis. But in a maist hainons misdeed, to dissolue all force of law, and quhair is na measure of ill doing, there to descend beneath all measure in punishing, were the way to the vndoing of all lawes, & the ouerthrow of all humaine societie. But in this ane horribill act is sic a hochepot of all abhominabill doingis, sic an egernesse of all outragious crueltie, sic a forgetfulnesse of all naturall affectioun, as nathing mair can be faynit or imaginit. I omit all former matters. I will nat curiously enquire vpon princis doingis, I will nat wey thaim by the cõmoun beame. I will nat restraine thaim to commoun degreis of duties. If there be any thing that without great offence may be passit ouer, I will gladly leaue it vnspoken of. If there be any thing that may receiue excuse, either by respect of age, or of womankinde, yea or of vnaduisitnes, I will nat vrge it.

And

And to paſſe ouer all the reſt, twa hay-
nous offences there be, that neither ac-
cording to thair greatnes be fully ex-
preſſit, nor according to thair outrage be
ſufficiently puniſhit, I meane the vio-
lating of matrimonie, and of Royall
maieſtie. For matrimonie (as the A-
poſtle ſayth) doth truely cõteine a great
miſterie. For as being obſeruit, it com-
preſeth within it all inferior kindes of
duties, ſa being broken it ouerthroweth
thaim all. Quho ſo hath miſuſit his fa-
thar, ſemeth to haue caſt out of hys hart
all naturall reuerence: but for the huſ-
bandis ſake, ane ſhall leaue baith father
and mother. Of all vther duties the de-
greis or like obſeruancis, either are nat
at all in brute creaturis, or nat ſa playne
to be diſcernit: but of matrimoniall loue
there is almaiſt na liuing creature that
hath nat ſome feling. This miſterie
therefoir quho ſo nat anely violateth,
but alſo deſpiſeth, he doth nat ouer-
throw all the foundations of humayne
fellowſchip, but as mickle as in him
lyeth, diſſolueth and confoundeth all or-
der of nature. Quhoſoeuer, I do nat ſay
hurteth the king that is the true image
of God in earth, but ſlayeth hym wyth
ſtrange and vnwontit ſort of crueltie, ſa
as the vntemperãt and vncredibill out-
ragiouſnes is nat contentit with ſimple
torment, ſemeth he nat, as mickle as in

hun lyeth, to haue a desire to pull God out of heauen? Quhat refuge haue thay then left themselfis to mercie that in satisfying their lust of vnmust hatrit haif excedit not only all measure of cruelty but also all likelihode that it can be credible?

But they will say, we ought to beare with and spare hyr nobilitie, dignitie, and aige. Be it sa, gif sche haif sparit hun in quhom all theis respectes were greiter, or at leist egall. Let the maiestie of royall name auayle hir. How mikle it ought to auayle to hyr preseruing, hyr selfe hath shewit the exemple. May we commit our safetie to hyr quho a sister hath butcherly slaughterit hyr brother, a wief her husband, a Quene her King? May we committe our safetie to hyr, quhome neuer shame restraynit from vnchastitie, womankinde from cruelty, nor religion from impietie? Sall we beare with hyr age, sexe, and vnadwisednesse, that without all iust causis of hatreit, despisit all theis thingis in hyr kinsman, hir King, hyr husband? Sche that hath sought sic executioun of hyr wrongfull wrath, quhat shall we thinke sche will do being prouoked by reprotches to men nat knit to hyr by kindred, subiect to hyr pleasure, not matchit with hyr in egall fellowschip of lyfe, but yeldit to hyr gouernance, and thrall to hyr tormenting crueltie? quhen rage for in-

terrup-

terrupting hyr pleasure, and outrage of nature strengthenit with armour of licentious power, shall ragingly triumph vpon the goods and blude of peyre subiectis? Quhat is then the fault quhereof we are accusit? quhat crueltie haif we shewit? That a woman raging without measure and modestie, and abusing to all hyr subiectis distructioun the force of hyr power that sche had receyued for theyr safety, we haif kept vnder gouernance of her kinsmen and well willing frendes: and quhom by right we might for hyr haynous deides haif executit, hir we haif touchit with na vther punischment, but onely restraynit hyr from doing mair mischief. For we depryuit hyr nat of libertie, but of vnbridelit licentiousnes of euil duing. Quherin we mair feare among all gude men the blaime of too mikle lenitie, than among euill men the sclander of crueltie.

These were the causis that mouit the Quene to thys mater. Bothwell also had hys reasons, quhilk nat a litle troublit hys mynde. For quhen that same infamous acquitall rather encreasit than abatit the suspicioun, and the matter coulde nat be alway kept

close, he fleeth to his laſt refuge, to obteyne of the quene a pardon of all hys offences. But quhen by the lawe of the land in ſic charters of pardon, the greateſt offence muſt be expreſſely mentionit, and the reſt it ſufficit to include in general wordes: and expreſſely to confeſſe, the murder of the kyng ſemit to ſtand neyther wyth hys honor nor wyth his ſafetie: he was driuen of neceſſitie eyther to inuent or commit ſome other crime, eyther maire grevous, or at ȳ leaſt as haynous, vnder quhilk the ſclaughter of ȳ kyng might lurke in ſhadow of generall wordes vnexpreſſit. They could deuiſe none other but the ſame counterfait rauiſhment of the Quene, quhairby baith the Quene prouidit for enioying hir pleaſure and Bothwell for hys ſafetie.

MEmorandum that in the caſtel of Edenburgh there was left by the Erle Bothwell beſoir his fleing away, and was ſent for by one George Dagliſh his ſeruant, quho was taken by the Erle Mozeton, one ſmall gilt cofer nat fully ane foote lang, beyng garniſhit in ſondry places with the Romaine letter F vnder ane kyngis crowne, quhairin were certaine letters and writynges well knawin, and by othes to be affirmit, to haue bēn written with the quene of Scottes awne hand to the Erle Bothwell.

Beſide thoſe writynges there was alſwa extant a writyng written in Romane hand in French, to be auowit to be writtē by the ſayd quene of Scottes hir ſelf, beyng a promiſe of mariage to the ſayd Bothwell: quhilk writyng beyng without date, and though ſome wordes therein ſeme to the contrary, yet is vpon credible groūdes ſuppoſed to haue been made and written by hir beſoir the death of hir huſband, the tenor quhairof thus begynneth.

Nous Marie par la grace de Dieu. &c.

There is also ane vther writyng in Scottish auowit to be quholly written by the Erle of Huntley, datit the v. of Aprill. 1567. conteyning ane forme of contract for mariage betwirt the sayd quene and Erle Bothwell, subscribit Marie, quhilk is to be auowit to be the proper hãd of the sayd quene, and vnderneth it Iames Erle Bothwel, quhilk alswa is to be auowit to be the proper hand of the said Erle Bothwell, at quhilk tyme he was commonly defamit of the kyngis slaughter and nat cleansit or acquitit therof befoir the xy. of Aprill followyng. The tenor of quhilk contract here ensueth.

AT Seyton the v. day of Aprill, the yere of God. 1567. The richt excellent, richt high & mighty Princesse Mary, by the grace of God Quene of Scottis, cõsidering the place & estait quharin almighty God hes constitute hir highnes, And how by the decesse of the king hir husband, hir Maiestie is now destitute of ane husbãd, liuyng solitary in the staite of widohede. In the quhilk kinde of life hyr maiestie maist willingly wald

continue, gif the weill of hir realme and ſubiectis wald permit it. But on the vther pairt conſidering the incõueniencis may follow, and the neceſſitie quhilk the realme hes that hir Maieſtie be couplit with ane huſband, hir highnes hes inclynit to marry. And ſeyng quhat incommoditie may cum to this realme, incace hir Maieſtie ſhould ioyne in mariage with any forein prince of a ſtrange natioun, hir highnes hes thoght rather better to yelde vnto ane of hir awin ſubiectis. Amangis quhome hir Maieſtie findis nane maire able nor indued wyth better qualities than the right noble & hir deare couſing James Earle Bothwell. &c. Of quhais thankfull and trew ſeruice hir highnes in all tymes bypaſt hes had large pruif and infallible experience. And ſeing not onely the ſame gude mynde conſtãtly perſeuering in him, but with that ane inward affectionn & harty luif towardes hir Maieſtie, hir highnes amangis the reſt hes maid hir choyſe of hym. And thairfore in the preſence of the eternall God faithfully and in the word of ane Prince by theſe preſentis takes the ſayd James Erle Bothwell as hir lauchfull huſband. And promittes and obliſſis hir highnes, that how ſone the proceſſe of diuorce intentit betuix the ſayd Erle Bothwell and Dame Jane Gordon now hys pretenſit ſpouſe beis

endit by the order of the lawis, hir Ma-
iestie shal Godwilling thairefter schort-
ly marry and take the sayd Erle to hir
husband, and compleit the band of ma-
trimony wyth hym in face of haly kirk.
And shall neuer marry none vther hus-
Item to the Duke of Norfolke. &c. band but he onely during his life time.
And as hir Maiestie of hir gracious hu-
manitie and proper motine without de-
serning of the sayd Erle hes thus indy-
nit hir favor and affectioun towardes
hym, he humbly & reuerently acknaw-
ledging ȳ same according to his bounde
dewtie, and being as free and able to
make promise of mariage, in respect of
the sayd processe of diuorce intentit for
diuerse reasonable causes, and that hys
sayd pretensit spouse hes thairunto con-
sentit, he presently takes hir Maiestie
as his lauchfull spouse in the presence of
God. And promittis and obliſſis hym
as he will answere to God and vpon
his fidelitie and honor, that in all dili-
gence possible he shall prosecute & setfor-
wart the sayd processe of diuorce alredy
begon and intentit betuix hym and the
sayd Dame Jane Gordon hys pretensit
spouse vnto the finall end of ane decreit
and declarator thairin. And incontinent
thairefter at hir Maiesties gude will
and pleasure, and quhen hir highnes
thinkes conuenient shall compleit and
solemnizat in face of haly kirk the sayde

band

band of matrimony with hir Maieſtie, and luik, honor, and ſerue hir highnes, according to the place and honor that it hes pleaſit hir Maieſtie to accept hym vnto, And neuer to haue any vther for hys wife during hir Maieſties life time. In fayth and witneſſing quhairof hir hyghnes & the ſayd Erle hes ſubſcribit this preſent faithfull promiſe with thair handes as followis, day, yeare & place foirſaidis, befoir theſe witnes, George Erle of Huntlie, and Maiſter Thomas Hepburne Parſoun of Auldhāſtock. &c.
Sic ſubſcribebatur . Marie R. Iames Erle Bothwell.

Here note that this contract was made the v. of April within viij. wekes after the murder of the kyng quhilke was ſlayne the x. of the Febrvarie befoir. Alſo it was made viij. dayes befoir that Bothwel was acquitit by corrupt iugement of the ſayd murder.

Alſwa it appereth by the wordes of the contract it ſelfe that it was made befoir ſentence of diuorce betwene Bothwell and his former wife. And alſwa in very truth was made befoir any ſute of diuorce intentit or begon betwene hym and his former wyfe, though ſome wordes in this contract

seme to say vtherwise. Quhilk is thus proued. For this contract is datit the v. of Aprill, and it playnly appereth by the iudiciall actes befoir the twa seuerall ecclesiasticall ordinarie iudges, quhairin is contained the hale procesſe of the diuorce betwene the sayd Erle and Dame Jane Gourdon hys wyfe that the one of the same processes was intentit and begon the xxvi. day of Aprill, and the vther the xxvij.

Alswa there be extant the recordes of the Justice court holden at Edenburgh the sayd xij. day of Aprill, some copies quhairof haue ben exemplifijt and signit with the hand of John Bellenden Justice clerke, among quhilk is the dittay or enditement of Bothwell. The tenour of quhilke recordes with the assise and verdit doe here followe.

Curia Iusticiariæ S. D. N. Reginæ, tenta & inchoata in prætorio de Edinburgh duodecimo die mensis Aprilis, An. 1567. per nobilem & potentem Dominum Archibaldum Comitem Ergadiæ, Dominũ Campbell & Lorne Iusticiarium generalem eiusdem S. D. N. Reginæ, totius Regni sui, ubilibet constitutum Sen. vocatum & curia legitimè affirmata.

IN the quhilke Court comperit personallie in iugement Maisteris Johne Spens of Condie, and Robert Creycghton of Chok, aduocates to our soueraigne Lady in hir name, and thare the said maister John Spens producit our soueraigne Ladies letter execute and indorsit, togider with the dittay. Of the quhilk letters, indorsing thairof, and Dittay, the tenneuris hereafter followith, that is to say: Mary by the grace of God Quene of Scottis to our louittis William Purwes, maister Williame Lawson, Gawine Ramsey messengeris, our Shirrifis in that pairt coniunctly and seuerally specially constitute, greeting. Forasmikle as it is humbly meant and schewin to vs by our louittis, familiar clarkis, and Counsellors, maisteris Johne Spens of Condye, and Robert Creycghton of Chok our aduocatis: ¶ quhareas thay are informit our trusty cousen and counsaillor Mathew Erle of Leuenox fader to the King our deirest spouse hes delatit Jamis Erle Bothwell, Lorde Hailis and Creycghton &c. and certaine vthers of the treasonabill, cruell, odious, and abhominable slauchter and murder of his grace, committit vpon the nynth day of Februar last bipast,

vnder silence of the nicht within his lodging
for the time within our bour of Edinburgh,
beside the kirke of fielde vpon prouisioun, set
purpose, and forethought fellony. And hes de-
clarit vnto vs the suspicioun had of the sayd
Erle and vtheris as committers of the sayd
odious, cruale and abhominable deid. Quhare-
through we being maist earnestly bent, inindit,
and willing to haue tryall taken therein by or-
der of iustice with all diligence and expedition
possible, hes with aduise of the Lordes of our
secret counsill, and also of the humble desire of
the sayd Erle Bothwell made in our and thair
presence, quhilk offerit him selfe redy to vnder-
ly the tryall of ane condigne assise, according to
the lawes of our realme for declaring of thys
part hes, ordainit ane court of Iusticiarie, to
be set & halden in the tolbuith of Edinbrough,
the xij. day of Aprill next to come, for duing of
iustice vpon the sayd Erle, and vtheris, for the
sayd crewale, odious. foule, and abhominabill
crime and offence: like as it at mair length
is contenit in ane act maid in the bukes of our
secrete counsell thairupon.

Quire will is herefoir, and we charge you
straictly and commaund that incontinent these
our letters seene, ye passe, and in our name and
authority, warne the said Mathew erle of Le-
uenox personally, or at hys dwelling place, & all
vthers our lieges hauand or pretēdand to haue
intres in the said matter, by open proclamation
at ȳ market crosses of our burrowis of Eden-
bur, Dunbertane, Glasgw, Lanerk, & vtheris
places needfull, to compeir befoyr our Iustice,
or hys deputis in our tolbuith of Edinburgh,
the sayd xij. day of Aprill next to come, to pur-
sew and concurre with vs in the sayd actioun:
with certificatioun to thame, and they fayle,

that

that our Iustice or his deputteis will proceed and do iustice in the sayd matter the sayd day, conforme to the lawis and consuetude of our realme, without any longer delay or continuatioun: And that ye summond ane assiis hereto, ilk person vnder the payne of fourty pounds, as ye will answer to vs therupon. The quhilk to do we commit to you conjunctly and seueralie our full power by these our letters, delinering thame by you duely execute and indorsate againe to the bearer. Geuin vnder our signet at Edenburgh, the xxvij. day of March, and of our reigne the xxv. yeire. 1567.

Ex deliberatione Dominorum Consilij Reg.

Sic subscribitur, *Mary.*

Indorsations of the sayd letters.

VPon the xxix. day of March, the yeir of God, 1567. yeires, I Williame Purwes Messenger, one of the shirffes in that parte within constitute, past at commaund of theis our souerane Ladies letters, and in hyr graces name and auctheritie warnit Mathew Erle of Leuenor, and all vtheris hyr maiesteis liegis hauand or pretendand to haue intres in the matter within specifyit by open proclamatioun at the marcket crosse of the burough of Edinburgh, to compeir befoyr the Iustice or hys deputes in the tolbuith of Edinburgh the xij. day of Aprill next to come, to pursew and concur with our sayd souerane Lady in the actioun within expremit, with certification as is within mentionat, efter the forme and tenour of these letters, quhairof I affixt ane copy vpoun the sayd marcket crosse. This I did befoir these witnessis, Johne Andersoun and Dauid Lant, with vthers diuerse. And for

mair witnessing to thys my execution and indorsation my signet is affixt.

VPon the penult day of March, first and secound dayes of Aprill, the yeare of God aboue writtin. I Gawine Ramsy messenger, ane of the Shirrefis in that part within constitute, past at commandement of these our soueraigne Ladies letters, and in hir gracis name and authoritie, warnit the sayd Mathew Erle of Leuenor at his dwelling places in Glesgw and Dunbertane respectiue, because I serchit & socht & could nat apprehend him personally, and all vther hir maiesties liegis hauand and pretendand to haue intres to persue in the matter within expremit, be proclamation at the marckat crosses of the burrowes of Glesgw, Dunbertane, and Lanerk, for to compere befoir the Iustice or his deputies in the sayd tolbuith of Edenburgh the said xij. day of Aprill next to cum, to persew and concurre with our sayd soueraigne Lady in the actionn within writtin with certificatioun as is within mentionit, efter the forme and tenor of these letters quhairof I affixt ane copy vpoun euery anc of the sayd marckat crosses. This I did befoir these witnesse, George Herbesoun, Nicholl Andro, Robert Letteris messenger, William Smollet, Dauid Robertsoun, James Smollet, John Hammiltoun, James Bannatine, and Robert Hammiltoun, with diuers vther. And for mair witnessing hereof, my signet is affixt, Subscriuit wyth my hand, *Gawine Ramsy messenger.*

VPon ỳ first day of Aprill. The yere of God 1567. yeare. I William Lawsoun messinger, Shirrefe in that pare within constitute,

past

Paſt at commaund of theſe our ſoueraine Ladies letters, to the mark at croſſe of Perth and thare, be open proclamation lawfully warnit Mathew Erle of Leuenox and all vthers our ſouerane Ladies liegis, hauand or pretendand ta haue intres, to purſue James Erle Bothwell, Lord Hailes, and Creyghtoun. &c. & certain vthers, for ȳ cruall ſlaughter & murder of the kyngis grace, and affixt ane copy vppon the ſayd croſſes, efter the forme and tenour of theſe letters. And this I did befoir theſe witneſſes, James marſchell, Alexander Borthuike, and Johnne Anderſoun meſſingeris, with others diuers. And for the maire witneſſing of this my execution and indorſatioun, I haue ſubſcriuit thys with my hande.
William Lawſoun meſſenger with my hand.

The dittay.

IAmes Erle Bothwell, Lord Haylis, and Creychtoun. &c. ȳe are inditit for acte & part of the ſaid cruell, odious, treaſonabill, and abhominabill ſlauchter and murder of ȳ vmquhile, the right excellent, right high and mighty Prince the kyngis grace, dearеſt ſpouſe for the tyme to our ſouerane Lady the Quenis maieſtie, vnder ſilence of night in his awne lodging beſide the Kirke of fielde within this borrow, he being taking the nightis reſt, treaſonably rayſing fire within the ſaine, with ane great quantitie of powder. Through force of the quilke, the ſayd hole lodging was rayſit and blowen in the aire. And ȳ ſaid vmquhile king was murtherit treaſonably & maiſt cruelly ſlayne & deſtroyit by you thairin vpon ſet purpoſe, prouiſion, and forethought felonye. And this ȳe did vppon the ninth day of Febrvary laſt by paſt, vnder

ſilence of night, as ſayd is. As is notoriouſly knawen, quhilke ye can not deny.

Upoun the quhilk production of the foir-ſayd letters execute, indorſit and dittay, the ſayd aduocate aſkit an Act of Court and inſtrumentis, and deſirit of the Juſtice proceſſe conforme thairto.

The ſayd letters being openly red in iugement with the indorſations thaircof, the Juſtice by vertue of the ſame cauſit call the ſayd James Erle Bothwell as defender on that ane part, and Mathew Erle of Leuenox and all vthers our ſouerane Ladies liegis, hauand & pretendand to purſue in the ſayd matter, to compere befoir him in this court of iuſtitiarie, to purſue and defend as accordes of the law.

Comperit immediatly thaireftir in iugement, the ſayd James Erle Bothwell, and enterit as perſonale, and thã chuſit Maiſter Dauid Borthuike of Luchthill, and Maiſter Edmund Hay prolocutoris for him, quho alſo comperit perſonally in iugement, and were admittit by the Juſtice to that effect.

Comperit alſo Maiſter Henry Kinrot alleging him procurator for Andro maiſter of Errole, and producit in iugement the writing and proteſtatioun vnder written, deſiring the ſame to be regiſterit and inſert in the bukes of adiornale, quhairof the tenor followis.

The quhilke day comperit Maiſter Henry Kinrot procurator for Androw maiſter of Errole Conſtable of Scotland, and allegit that the Conſtabillis for the tyme of thys realme hes bene at all tymes bypaſt onely

iudges

iudges competent to all sic personis as hes bene accusit criminally for committyng of slaughter murther of blude drawing nere to the Prince chamer, and within foure myles for the same. And thairfoir the sayd Mayster now beyng Constabill of thys realme, aught and should be Judge competent to James Erle Bothwell and vthers his allegit complices callit thys day, and to be accusit for acte and pairt of the allegit cruell, treasonabill slaughter of vmquhyle Henry king of Scottis. And in caise Archebald Erle of Argyle as Justice generall of this realme or his deputies proceid and cognosce in the sayd cause, the sayde Maister Henry procurator foresayd protestis solempnlye that the same proceding therin on na wayes hurt nor preiuge the sayd Constabill his office rightis, title of rightis, intres, iurisdictioun, or inuestiment thairof in any sort, but that he may vse and exercise hys sayd iurisdictioun in all sic caisses in tymes cummyng, conforme to his inuestiment of the sayd office, and vse of cognoscing vsit by hys predecessours and hym befoir in semblable causes. All quhilke tyme he makis it knawen either by inuestimēt or vther wayes sufficiently him to haue iurisdictioun in sic cassis. And desires the same protestatioun to be insert in the buke of adiornale, and admittit vnder protestatioun that he affirme not my Lord Justice iurisdictioun in any sort in procedyng in the sayd matter.

The Justice beyng aduisit with the sayd allegeance and protestatioun fande by interlocutor, and ordaynit that processe should be led by hym in thys matter. Notwithstanding the same in respect that nathyng was shawin by the sayd maister Henry to verefie the cōtentes

of the ſayd allegeance & proteſtation. Quhair-uppoun the ſayd Erle Bothwell aſkit ane note of court and inſtrument.

The ſayd Mathew Erle of Leuenox and vthers our ſouerane Ladies lieges, hauand or pretendand to haue intres to purſue in the ſayd matter beyng oftymes callit, to haue comperit and concurrit with the ſayd aduocates, in purſute of the ſayd actioun, comperit Robart Cunningham, allegeing hym ſeruaunt to the ſayd Mathew Erle of Leuenox, and produceit the writing vnder written, quhilke he ſubſcriuit wyth his hand in iugement. As he that had power to vſe the ſame, and proteſtit and deſirit conforme thairto in all pointes. Of the quhilke writing the tennor followes.

My Lordes I am cum here, ſent by my mayſter my Lord of Leuenox, to declare the cauſe of his abſence thys day, and wyth hys power as the ſame beris. The cauſe of hys abſcence is the ſhortnes of tyme: and that he he is denied of hys frendis and ſeruants, quho ſhould haue accompaneit hym to hys honor & ſuretie of his life, in reſpect of the greatnes of hys party. And he hauing aſſiſtance of na frendes but onely hymſelfe. And thairfoir hys L. hes commandit me to deſire ane ſufficient day, according to the weight of the cauſe, quhairthrough he may keepe the ſame. And if your L. will procede at thys preſent, I proteſt that I may without any diſpleaſure of any man, vſe theſe thinges committit to my charge by my Lord my Mayſter. Quhairof I take ane document.

Item I proteſt that if the perſonis quho

paſſis

paſſis vpoun aſſyſe and inquest of theſe perſones that ſhall enter on pannell thys day, cienſe the ſayd perſones of the murther of the kyng, that it ſhalbe wilfull erroꝛ and not ignorance, by reaſoun that it is notourlyc knawen theſe perſones to be the murtherers of the kyng, as my Lord my maiſter allegis, vppoun the quhilke proteſtatioun I require ane document. *Sic ſubſcribitur.* Robert Cunningham.

Vppon the production of the quhilke writing and proteſtatioun, the ſayd Robert aſkit actes and inſtrumentis.

The Juſtice beyng aduiſit with the foir ſayd writyng and proteſtatioun producit and vſyt by the ſayd Robert Cunningham in reſpect of the letters and writinges ſent to our ſouerane by the ſayd Mathew Erle of Leuenoꝛ producit and red in iugement, quhairof the copeis are vnder written. By the quhilke letters and writinges the ſayd Erle of Leuenoꝛ deſirit ſchoꝛt and ſummare proceſſe to be deducit in the ſayd mattter, and alſ of the act and oꝛdinaunce of the Lorde of ſecret counſell grauntit thereuppon, and ſic lyke in reſpect of the earneſt inſiſting of the aduocates, deſiring proceſſe and right ſute of the ſayde Erle Bothwelles earneſt petitioun and deſire of tryall to be had in the ſayd matter, wyth aduiſe of the Lords and Barones aſſeſſoꝛs preſent, fand by interlocutoꝛ that proceſſe ſhould be deducit in the ſayd actioun thys day, conforme to the lawes of thys realme. Notwithſtanding the writyng and proteſtatioun producit by the ſayd Robart Cunningham, and alſ admittit hun to concurr and aſſiſt to the ſayd aduocates in purſute of the ſayd actioun if he pleaſit.

Followis the copeis of the letters and writingis ſent to the Quenis maieſtie by the ſayd Erle of Leuenox.

I Render maiſt humble thankes vnto your maieſtie for your gracious and comfortabill letter quhilke I haue receiuit the xxiij. day of this inſtant. And quhairas I perceaue by the ſame that it is your maieſties pleaſure to remit the tryall of this late odious act to the time of a Parliament. Pleaſit your maieſtie although I am aſſurit your highnes thynkis the tyme as long as I do till the matter be tryit, and the auctours of the deid condignely puniſht, yet I ſhall humbly craue your maieſties pardoun in troublyng your hyghnes ſo oft thairin as I do, for the matter touches me ſa nere, beſekand your maieſtie maiſt humbly to accept this my ſimple aduiſe in gude part as followes. Quhilk is, that quhaire the tyme is lang to the Parliament, thys matter not being a Parliament matter, but of ſic weight and opportunitie quhilke aught rather to be with all expeditioun and diligence ſocht out and puniſht to the example of the hole world, as I knaw your maieſties wiſdome conſiders the ſame farre mair than my wittes can compre-hēd, yet forſameckle as I heare of certain tikkettis that hes ben put on the tolbuith doir of Edenbrough aunſwering your maieſties firſt and ſecond proclamations quhilke names in ſpeciall certayne perſones deuiſers of the cruell murther, I ſhal thairfoir maiſt humbly beſeike your maieſtie, for the luif of God, the honour of your maieſtie, and your realme and wele & quietnes of ȳ ſame, that it will pleaſe your maieſtie fourthwith not onely to apprehend and put in ſure keepyng the perſones namit in the

ſayd

sayd tikkettes, but als wyth diligẽce to assem-
ble your maiesties nobilitie, and than by opin
proclamatioun to admonishe and requyre the
wryters of the sayd tikkettis, to compere ac-
cording to the effect thairof, at the quhilke
tyme if thay do not, your maiestie may by ad-
uise of your nobilitie and counsell releue and
put to libertie the personis in the tikkettis foir-
sayd. So shall your maiestie do ane honorabill
and godly act in the bringyng the matter to sic
ane narrow poynt as eyther the matter shall
appere playnely befoir your maiestie, to the pu-
nischment of thaim quho hes bene the auctors
of this cruell deid, or els the sayde tikkettis
fand vayne in thair selfe, and the personis
quhilke are sclanderit to be exonerit and put to
libertie at your maiesties pleasure. So cum-
mittis your maiestie to the protectioun of al-
mighty God, quho preserue you in helth and
maist happy raigne. Of Howstoun the xxvi.
day of February.

PLeasit your maiestie, quhaire your highnes
in your last letter to me wrytes that if there
be any names in the tikkettis that was affixt
vppon the tolbuith doore of Edinburgh that
I thinke worthy to sukker a triall for the mur-
ther of the kyng your maiesties husband, vp-
pon my aduertismẽt, your maiestie should pro-
ceid to the cognicioun taking as may stand
wyth the lawes of thys realme, and beyng
fand culpabill, shall see the punischment as ri-
gorously executit as the weight of the cryme
deseruis. Pleasit your maiestie sens the res-
sait of your highnes letter I haue still lukit
that some of the bludy murtherers shold haue
bene opinly knawen or now. And seyng thay
are not yet, I can not finde in my hart to con-
cele the matter any longer. But let your ma-

ieſtie vnderſtand the names of thaim quhome I greatly ſuppect, that is to ſay, the Erle Bothwell, Maiſter James Balfor, and Gilbert Balfor hys brother, Maiſter Dauid Chamer, Blackmaiſter, John Spēs, Seneſchal Frances, Baſtiane, John de Burdeaux, and Joſeph Dauids brother. Quhilke perſones I ſhall mait intierly and humbly beſeik your maieſtie that according to my former petitioun vnto your highnes, it will pleaſe not onely to apprehend and put in ſure keping, but alſ with diligence to aſſemble your maieſties hole nobilitie and counſell, and than to take ſic perfite order of the foirnamit perſones, that thay may be iuſtly tryit, as I doubt not but in ſo doyng the ſpirit of God ſhall worke in the ſayd matter as the truth ſhalbe knawin. So ſhall your maieſtie do a maiſt godly and honorabill act, for your ſelfe beyng the pairty as ye are, And ane great ſatiſfactioun it ſhalbe to all that belonges vnto hym that is gone, quho was ſa deare vnto your highnes. And now not doubtit but your maieſtie will take order in the matter according to the weight of the cauſe, quhilke I maiſt humbly beſeike, I commit your maieſtie to the protectioun of the almighty God, quho preſerue you in health, lang life, and maiſt happy reigne. Of Howſtoun thys xvij. of March.

Aſſiſa.

Andro Erle of Rothes.
George Erle of Caithnes.
Gilbert Erle of Caſſillis.
Lord Iohne Hamiltoun, comandar of Arbroycht ſone to the Lord Duke.
Iames Lord Roſſe.

Ro-

Robert Lord Sunple.
Iohnne Maxwell Lord Hereif.
Laierence Lord Oliphant.
Iohnne Maiſter of Forueſſ.
Iohnne Gordoun of Lothinware.
Robert Lord Boyd.
Iames Cokburne of Lantoun
Iohne Someruile of Cambuſnethan.
Mowbray of Berne Buxall.
Ogilbye of Boyne.

THe forenamit perſons of Aſſiſe being choſen admitted and ſworne in iugement, as vſe is. And thairfore the ſayd Erle Bothwell being accuſit by the ſayd dictay of the crime aforeſayd, and the ſame being denyed by hym, and referrit to the deliuerance of the ſayd aſſiſes, thay remouit forth of the ſayd Court, and altogidder conuenit, and after lang reaſoning had by thame vpoun the ſame dictay and pointis thairof, they and ilke ane of tham for tham ſelfis votit, deliuerit and acquite the ſayd Iames Erle Bothwell of act and part of the ſayd ſlaueghter of the Kyng, and poyntes of the ſayd dictay.

And ſince the ſayd George Erle of Caythnes Chaunceller of the ſayd aſſiſes in hys and thayr names aſkit inſtruments, that nouther the ſayd aduocates, nor the ſayd Robert Cunningham as hauād commiſſion of my Lord of Leuenor, nor na vtheris brought into thame any writing token or verification quhairby the dictay aboue written might be forteſyit, nor the ſayd aſſiſe perſwadit to deliuer any vtherwiſe, than is aboue written. Nor yet was the ſayd dictay ſworne, nor no partye, except the ſayd adnocates, comperit to purſew the ſaim,

and tharfoyr in respect that they deliuerit according to thayr knawlege, protestis that thay sholld incur na wilfull erroyr in any wise heirafter. Quhilk instrument and protestatioun immediatly after the reentry of the sayd Erle of Caythnes Chauncellor, and ane pairt of the named of the sayd persons of assyise in the sayd court of iusticiarie, befoyr the pronunciatioun of thayr deliueraunce foresayd at the desire of the sayd Erle of Caythnes was openly read in iugement. And thayrupon he of new askeit actis and instrumentis, and protesteth in manner aboue expremit.

Extractum de libro Actorum Adiornalis S. D. N. Regina. Per me Ioannem Bellenden de Auchnoule militem, clericum iusticiariæ eiusdem generalem. Sub meis signo & subscriptione mannalibus.

Ioannes Bellenden
Clericus Iusticiariæ.

Note that at the same tyme protestatioun was made by George Erle of Catnes Chanceller of the sayd Assise that the said dittay or enditement was nat in this point true, vz. in allegyng the murder to be committit the ir. day of Februarie for that in dede the murder was committed the next day beyng the r. day in the morryng at twa houres after midnight whiche in law was and ought to be truely accomptit the r. day and so the acquitall that way but cauillously defendit.

The

The writynges and letters found in the sayd casket, which are auowit to be written with the Scottishe Quenis awne hand.

Certaine French Sonnettes written by the quene of Scottes to Bothwell, befoir hir mariage with him, and (as it is sayd) quhile hir husband lyuit, But certainly befoir his diuorce from hys wife as the wordes tham selues shew, befoir quhom she here prefereth hir selfe in deseruing to be beloued of Bothwell.

O Dieux ayez de moy compassion,
Et m'enseignez quelle preuue certain
Ie puis donner qui ne luy semble vain
De mon amour & ferme affection.
Las n'est il pas ia en possession
Du corps, du cœur qui ne refuse paine
Ny deshonneur, en la vie incertaine,
Offense de parentz, ne pire affliction?
Pour luy tous mes amis i'estime moins que
Et de mes ennemis ie veux esperer bien. (rien,
I'ay hazardé pour luy & nom & conscience:
Ie veux pour luy au monde renoncer:
Ie veux mourir pour luy auancer.
Que reste il plus pour prouuer ma constance?

Entre ſes mains & en ſon plein pouuoir
Ie metz mon filz, mon honneur, & ma vie,
Mon païs, mes ſubiectz, mon ame aſſubiectie
Eſt tout à luy, & n'ay autre vouloir
Pour mon obiect que ſans le deceuoir
Suiure ie veux malgré toute l'enuie
Qu'iſſir en peult, Car ie n'ay autre ennie
Que de ma foy, luy faire apperceuoir
Que pour tempeſte ou bonnace qui face
Iamais ne veux changer demeure ou place.
Brief ie feray de ma foy telle preuue,
Qu'il cognoiſtra ſans fainte ma conſtance,
Non par mes pleurs ou fainte obeyſſance,
Cõme autres ont fait, mais par diuers eſpreuue.

Elle pour ſon honneur vous doibt obeyſſance
Moy vous obeyſſant i'en puis receuoir blaſme,
N'eſtãt, à mõ regret, comme elle voſtre femme.
Et ſi n'aura pour tant en ce point préeminence.
Pour ſon profit elle vſe de conſtance,
Car ce n'eſt peu d'honneur d'eſtre de voz biens
dame
Et moy pour vous aymer i'en puis receuoir
blaſme
Et ne luy veux ceder en toute l'obſeruance
Elle de voſtre mal n'a l'apprehenſion
Moy ie n'ay nul repos tant ie crains l'apparence
Par l'aduis des parentz elle eut voſtre acceintance
Moy malgré tous les miens vous porte affection
Et de ſa loyauté prenez ferme aſſeurance.

Par vous mon cueur & par voſtre alliance

Elle

Elle à remis ſa maiſon en honneur
Elle à iouy par vous la grandeur
Dont tous les ſiens n'ayent nul aſſeurance
De vous mon bien elle à eu la conſtance,
Et à gaigné pour vn temps voſtre cœur.
Par vous elle à eu plaiſir en bon heur,
Et pour vous à receu honneur & reuerence,
Et n'a perdu ſinon la iouyſſance
D'vn faſcheux ſot qu'elle aymoit cherement
Ie ne la playns d'aymer donc ardamment,
Celuy qui n'a en ſens, ny en vaillance,
En beauté, en bonté, ny en conſtance
Point de ſeçonde. Ie vis en ceſte foy.

Quant vous l'amiez elle vſoit de froideur.
Sy vous ſouffriez pour ſ'amour paſſion
Qui vient d'aymer de trop d'affection,
Son doig monſtroit, la triſteſſe de cœur
N'ayant plaiſir de voſtre grand ardeur
En ſes habitz monſtroit ſans fiction
Qu'elle n'auoit paour qu'imperfection
Peuſt l'effacer hors de ce loyal cœur.
De voſtre mort ie ne vis la peaur
Que meritoit tel mary & ſeigneur.
Somme de vous elle à eu tout ſon bien
Et n'à priſé ny iamais eſtimé
Vn ſi grand heur ſi non puis qu'il n'eſt ſien
Et maintenant dit l'auoir tant aymé.

Et maintenant elle commence à voir
Qu'elle eſtoit bien de mauuais iugement
De n'eſtimer l'amour d'vn tel amant
Et voudroit bien mon amy deceuoir

Par les escriptz tout fardez de sçauoir
Qui pourtant n'est on son esprit croissant
Ains emprunté de quelque autheur eluissant,
A faint tresbien vn enuoy sans l'auoir
Et toutesfois ses parolles fardez,
Ses pleurs, ses plainctz remplis de fictions,
Et ses hautz cris & lumentations,
Ont tant gaigné qui par vous sont gardez
Ses lettres escriptes ausquelz vous donnez foy
Et si l'aymez & croyez plus que moy.

Vous la croyez, las trop ie l'apperçoy
Et vous doutez de ma ferme constance,
O mon seul bien & mon seul esperance,
Et ne vous puis asseurer de ma foy
Vous m'estimez legier qui le voy,
Et si n'auez en moy nul asseurance
Et soupçonnez mon cœur sans apparence
Vous deffiant à trop grand tort de moy.
Vous ignorez l'amour que ie vous porte,
Vous soupçonnez qu'autre amour me trãsporte,
Vous estimez mes parolles du vent,
Vous depeignez de cire mon las cœur,
Vous me pensez femme sans iugement.
Et tout cela augmente mon ardeur.

Mon amour croist & plus en plus croistra
Tant que ie viuray, & tiendray à grandheur,
Tant seulement d'auoir part en ce cœur
Vers qui en fin mon amour paroistra
Si tres à clair que iamais n'en doutra.
Pour luy ie veux recercher la grandeur,
Et feray tant qu'en vray cognoistra,

Que

Que ie n'ay bien, heur, ne contentement,
Qu'à l'obeyr & ſeruir loyaument.
Pour luy iattendz toute bonne fortune.
Pour luy ie veux garder ſanté & vie.
Pour luy tout vertu de ſuyure i'ay enuie,
Et ſans changer me trouuera tout vne.

Pour luy auſſi ie iette mainte larme.
Premier quand il ſe fiſt de ce corps poſſeſſeur,
Duquel alors il n'auoit pas le cœur.
Puis me donna vn autre dur alarme,
Quand il verſa de ſon ſang mainte dragme,
Dont de grief il me vint leſſer doleur,
Qui m'en penſa oſter la vie, & frayeur
De perdre las le ſeul rempar qui m'arme.
Pour luy depuis iay meſpriſé l'honneur
Ce qui nous peult ſeul pouruoir de bonheur.
Pour luy i'ay hazardé grandeur & conſcience.
Pour luy tous mes parentz, i'ay quité, & amis,
Et tous autres reſpectz ſont apart mis.
Brief de vous ſeul ie cerche l'alliance.

De vous ie dis ſeul ſouſtien de ma vie
Tant ſeulement ie cerche m'aſſeurer,
Et ſi oſe de moy tant preſumer
De vous gaigner maugré toute l'enuie.
Car c'eſt le ſeul deſir de voſtre chere amie,
De vous ſeruir & loyaument aymer,
Et tous malheurs moins que riens eſtimer,
Et voſtre volonté de la mien ſuiure.
Vous cognoiſtrez auecques obeyſſance
De mon loyal deuoir n'omettant laſciance
A quoy i'eſtudiray pour touſiours vous cõplaire,

Sans aymer rien que vous, soubz la subiection
De qui ie veux sans nulle fiction
Viure & mourir & a ce i'obtempere.

Mon cœur, mon sang, mon ame, & mon soucy,
Las, vous m'auez promis qu'aurons ce plaisir
De deuiser auecques vous à loysir,
Toute la nuict, ou ie languis icy,
Ayant le cœur d'extreme paour transy,
Pour voir absent le but de mon desir
Crainte d'oublir vn coup me vient à saisir:
Et l'autre fois ie crains que rendurcie
Soit contre moy vostre amiable cœur
Par quelque dit d'vn meschant rapporteur.
Vn autre fois ie crains quelque auenture
Qui par chemin detourne mon amant,
Par vn fascheux & nouueau accident.
Dieu detourne toute malheureux augure.

Ne vous voyant selon qu'auez promis
I'ay mis la main au papier pour escrire
D'vn different que ie voulu transcrire.
Ie ne scay pas quel sera vostre aduis
Mais ie scay bien qui mieux aymer scaura,
Vous diriez bien que plus y gaignera.

O Goddis haue of me compassioun,
And schew quhat certaine purpose
I may geif, quhich shall nat seem to him vaine,
Of my loue and feruent affectioun.
Helas, is he nat alredy in possessioun
Of my bodie, of hart, that refusis no payne,
Nor dishonour in the life vncertaine,
Offence of frendes, nor worse afflictioun,

For

For him I esteme al my frēds les thē nathing,
And I will haue gude hope of my enemeis.
I haue put in hasard for him both fame & con=
I will for his sake renounce ȳ world, (sciēce,
I will die to set him forwart.
Quhat remayneth to gief proofe of my con=
stancie?

In his handis and in his full power,
I put my sonne, my honour, and my lyif,
My contry, my subiects, my soule al subdewit,
To him, and has none vther will
For my scope, quhilk without deceit,
I will folow in spite of all enuie
That may ensue: for I haif na vther desire,
But to make him perceiue my faythfulnes,
For stormе or fayre wedder that may come,
Neuer will it chainge dwelling, or place.
Schortly I sall geif of my trueth sic proфe,
That he sall know my constancie ẅout fiction,
Not by my weping, or faynit obedience,
As other haue done: but by vther experience.

Sche for hyr honour oweth you obedience:
I in obaying you may receiue dishonour,
Nat being (to my displesure) your wife as she.
And yit in this poynt she shall haue na preie=
minence.
Sche vseth constancy for hyr awin profite:
For it is na litle honour to be maistres of your
goodes.
And I for luifing of you may receiue blame,
And will nat be ouercumme by hyr in loyall
obseruaunce.
Sche has no apprehension of your cuyll,
I feare so all appearing euill that I can haue
na rest.
Sche had your acqueintance by consent of hyr
freindes,

I againſt al thair ſwill haue borne you affectiō.
And nat the leſſe (my hart) you doubt of my
conſtance,
And of hir faithfulnes you haif firme aſſurāce.

By you (my hart) and by your aliance
Sche hath reſtored hyr houſe vnto honour,
By you ſhe is become to that greitnes,
Of quhilk hyr freindis had neuer aſſurance,
Of you (my wealth) ſche got the acquentance,
And hath conqueſt the ſame time your hart.
By you ſche hath pleaſure and good lucke,
And by you hath receiued honour & reuerence,
And hath nat loſt but the reioyſance
Of one vnpleaſāt foole, quhilk ſhe louit deirly.
Than I moane hyr nat to loue ardently
Him that hath none in wit, in manhead,
In beauty, in bounty, in truth, nor in cōſtancy,
Ony ſecond: I lief in the beleif.

Quhen you louit hyr ſche vſit coldneſſe,
Gif you ſuffrith for hir luif paſſioun,
That commith of to greit affectioun of luif,
Hyr ſadnes ſchew the triſteſſe of hyr hart,
Taking na pleaſure of your vehemēt burning,
In hyr clothing ſhe ſchew vnfaynitly,
That ſche had na feir, that imperfection
Could deface hyr out of that true hart.
I did not ſee in hyr the feir of your death,
That was worthy of ſic huſband and Lord.
Schortly ſche hath of you all hyr wealth.
And hath neuer weyit nor eſtemit
One ſo greit hap, but ſins it was nat hirs,
And now ſhe ſaith that ſhe loueth him ſo well.

And now ſche beginneth to ſee,
That ſche was of veray euill iugement,
To eſteeme the loue of ſic ane louer,
And wald fayne deceiue my loue,

By

By ſwritinges and paintit learning,
Quhilk nat the leſſe did not breid in hir braine,
But borrowit from ſum feate authour,
To fayne one ſturt and haif none.
And for all that hyr payntit wordis,
Hyr teares, hyr plaintes full of diſſimulation,
And hyr hye cryes and lamentations
Hath won that poynt, that you keip in ſtore,
Hir letters and ſwritinges, to quhilk you geif
truſt,
ye, and loueſt and beleuiſt hyr more than me.

You beleue hir (helas) I perceiue it to well,
And calliſt in doubt my firme conſtancie
(O mine onely wealth, aud my onely hope)
And I can not aſſure you of my truth.
I ſee that you eſteeme me light,
And be no way aſſurit of me,
And dooſt ſuſpect (my hart) without any ap-
pearing cauſe,
Diſcrediting me ſwrangouſly.
You do nat knaw the loue I beare to you.
You ſuſpect that vther loue tranſporteth me.
You thinke my wordes be but wind:
You paint my wery hart, as it were of ſware,
You imagine me an womã without iugement.
And all that encreaſeth my burning.

My loue increaſeth and more and more ſwil
increaſe,
So lang as I ſhall lief, and I ſhall holde for
ane greit felicitie
To haue onely pairt in that hart,
To the quhilk at length my loue ſall appeare,
So clearely, that he ſall neuer doubt.
For him I ſwill ſtriue againſt wan weard,
For him I will recerſe greitnes,
And ſall do ſo mikle that he ſhall know
That I haif no wealth, hap, nor contentation,

But to obay, and ſerue him truely.
For him I attend all gude fortune.
For him I will conſerue health and life,
For him I deſire to enſew courage,
And he ſhall euer finde me vnchangeable.

For him alſo I powred out many tearis,
Firſt quhen he made himſelfe poſſeſſor of thys body.
Of the quhilk then he had nat the hart.
Efter he did geue me one vther hard charge,
Quhen he bled of his blude great quantitie,
Through the great ſorrow of the quhilk came to me that dolour,
That almoſt caryit away my life, and the feire
To leſe the onely ſtrength that armit me.
For him ſince I haif deſpiſit honour,
The thing onely that bringeth felicitie.
For him I haif hazardit greitnes & conſcience,
For him I haif forſaken all kin and frendes,
And ſet aſide all vther reſpectes,
Schortly, I ſeke the aliance of you onely.

Of you I ſay onely vpholder of my lyfe,
I onely ſeke to be aſſuerit,
Ye, and dare preſume ſo much of my ſelfe,
To win you in ſpite of all enuy:
For that is the onely deſire of your deir loue,
To ſerue and loue you truely,
And to eſteme all wan hap leſſe then nathing,
And to follow your wyll wyth myne,
You ſhall knaw wyth obedience,
Not forgetting the knawlege of my leal deuty,
The quhilke I ſhall ſtudy to the fine that I may euer pleaſe you.
Louyng nothyng but you, in the ſubiectioun
Of quhome I wyll without any fictioun,
Liue and die, and this I conſent.

My hart, my bloud, my ſoule, my care,
Helas you had promiſit that I ſhould haue
that pleaſure.
To deuiſe wyth you at leyſure.
All the night quhair I lye and languiſhe here,
My hart beyng ouerſet wyth extreme feare
Seing abſent the butte of my deſire.
Feare of forgetting ſometyme taketh me,
And vther tymes I feare that louelum hart,
Be not hardenit agaynſt me
By ſum ſaying of anc wickit reporter,
Vther tymes I feare ſum auenture,
That by the way ſhould turne abacke my loue
By ſum troublous and new accident.
O God turne abacke all vnhappy augure.

Not ſeing you as you had promiſit,
I put my hand to the paper to write,
Of anc differens that I haue willit coppe.
I can not tell what ſhalbe your iugement,
But I knaw well quho can beſt loue,
you may tell who ſhall winne maiſt.

A letter written by hir from Glaſcow to Bothwel prouing hir hate to hir huſband and ſome ſuſpicicions of practiſing hys death, quhilk letter was writtē in Frēch, and here enſueth tranſlatit word for word.

IL ſemble qu'auecques voſtre abſence ſoit ioynt l'oubly, veu qu'au partir vous me promiſtes de vos nouuelles. Et toutesfoys ie n'en puis apprendre. &c.

IT appearis that with your absence there is alswa ioinit forgetfulnes, seand that at your departing you promisit to make me aduertisemet of your newis from tyme to tyme. The awaytyng vpō thain yesterday, causit me to be almaist in sic ioy as I wilbe at your returning, quhilk ye haue delayit langer then your promise was. As to me howbeit I haue na further newes from you accordyng to my commissioun, I bryng the man with me to Cragmillar vpon monday, quhair he wilbe all wednisday, and I will gang to Edenburgh to draw bludc of me, gif in the meane tyme I get na newes in the contrarie fro you. He is mair gay thē euir ye saw him, he puttis me in remembrance of all thyngis that may make me beleue he luffis me. Summa ye will say that he makis loue to me: Of the quhilk I take sa greit plesure, that I cutir neuir quhair he is bot incontinent I take the seiknes of my sore side I am sa troublit with it. Gif Pareis bryngis me that quhilk I send hym for, I trust it sall amend me. I pray you aduertise me of your newes at length and quhat I sall do, in case ye be nat returnit quhen I am come thare, for in case ye worke not wisse I see that the hale burdyng of this will fall vpon my shoulders. Prouide for all thing and discours vpon it first with your selfe. I

send

ſend this by Betoun, quha gais to ane day of law of the lard of balfouris. I will ſay na further, ſauffyng that I pray you to ſend me gude newes of your voyage. From Glaſcow this ſaterday in the morneyng.

An vther letter to Bothwell concerning the hate of hir huſband & practiſe of his murder.

ESTant party du lieu ou i'auois laiſſé mõ cœur il ſe peult ayſément iuger quelle eſtoit ma contenance, veu ce qui peult vn corps ſans cœur, qui à eſté cauſe que iuſques à la diſnée ie n'ay pas tenu grand propos, auſsi perſonne ne s'eſt voulu aduancer iugeant bien qu'il n'y faiſoit bon. &c.

BEyng departit frõ the place quhaire I left my hart, it is eaſie to be iudgit quhat was my countenaunce, ſeing that I was euen aſmickle as ane body without ane hart, quhilke was the occaſioun that quhile dinner time I held purpois to na body, nor yit durſt any preſent thamſelfis vnto me, iudging that it was not gude ſo to do. Fower myle ere I came to the towne, ane Gentleman of the Erle of Lennox came and made his commendations vnto me, and excuſit hym that he came not to meete me, by reaſon he durſt not enterpriſe the ſame

becauſe of the rude wordes that I had ſpoken to Cunningham, & he deſirit that he ſhould come to the inquiſition of the matter that I ſuſpectit hym of. Thys laſt ſpeaking was of hys owne head without any commiſſioun. I aunſwerit to hym that there wes no receipte could ſerue againſt feare, & that he would not be afrayed in caſe he were not culpabill, and that I aunſwerit but rudely to the doubtis that were in his letters. Summa, I made hym holde hys toung, the reſt were lang to write. Sir James Hammeltoun met me, quho ſchewd that the vther time quhen he heard of my cōming, he departit away, and ſent Houſtoun to ſchaw hym that he would neuir haue beleuit that he would haue purſuit hym, nor yit accompaneit hym wyth the Hammeltonis. He aunſwerit that he was onely cum but to ſee me, and that he would neyther accompany Stewart nor Hammiltoun but by my commaūdement. He deſyrit that he would cum & ſpeake wᵗ hym, he refuſit it. The Lard of Luſe Houſtoū & Cauldwellis ſonne, wyth xl. horſe or thairabout came and met me. The Lard of Luſe ſayd he was chargit to ane day of law, by the kingis father, quhilk ſhould be this day, againſt his owne hand writ, quhilk he hes. And yit notwithſtandyng, knowyng of my cūmyng it is delayit, he was inquirit to

cum

cum to hym, quhilk he refusit, & sweiris that he will indure nothing of him. Neuir ane of ỳ towne came to speak to me, quhilke causis me thinke that they are hys, and neuertheless he speakis gude, at the least hys sonne. I see na vther Gentilman but thay of my cumpany. The kyng sent for Ioachim yesternight and askit at hym quhy I lodgeit not besyde hym, and that he would ryse the sonar gif that wer, & quhairfoir I come, gif it was for gude appointment, and gif ye wer thair in particular, and gif I had made my estait, gif I had taken Parcis and Gilbert to wryit to me, and that I would send Ioseph away. I am abaschit quho hes schawin hym sa farre, yea he spake euin of the mariage of Bastian. I inquirit hym of his letters, quhairintil he playneit of the crueltie of sum, aunswerit that he was astonyshed, and that he was sa glad to see me that he beleuit to die for gladnes, he fand great fault that I was pensiue, I departit to supper, thys bearer wyll tell you of my arriuyng, he prayit me to returne, the quhilke I did, he declarit vnto me hys sicknes, and that he would make na testament but onely leif all thyng to me, and that I was the cause of hys malady because of the regrait that he had that I was so straunge vnto hym. And thus he sayd, ye aske me quhat I meyne by the

This berer wil tel you sumwhat vpon this.

crueltie conteynit in my letter, it is of you alone that will not accept my offeris and repentance. I confesse that I haue fayled, but not into that quhilke I euir denyit, and lic lyke hes fayled to sundry of your subiectis quhilk ye haue forgeuen. I am yong. Ye wyll say that ye haue forgeuen me ofttimes, and yet that I returne to my faultis. May not ane man of my aige for lacke of counsale fall twyse, or thryse, or in lacke of hys promyse, and at last repent hymselfe and be chastised by experience? If I may obteyne pardoun, I protest I shall neuer make fault agayne. And I craue na vther thyng but that we may be at bed and bourd together as husband & wyfe, and if ye wyll not consent heirunto, I shall neuir ryse out of thys bed, I pray you tell me your resolution. God knowes how I am punisht for making my god of you, and for hauing no vther thought but on you, and if at any time I offend you, ye are the cause, because quhen any offendis me, if for my refuge I might playne vnto you, I woulde speake it vnto no vther body, but quhen I heare any thyng, not beyng familiar wyth you, necessitie constreynes me to kepe it in my breast. And that causes me to tyne my wit for very anger. I aumswerit ay vnto hym, but that woulde be ouer long to write at length. I askit

quhy

quhy he would passe away in the Inglishe schip, he denyes it and sweares thairunto, but he grantes that he spake wyth the mē. After thys I inquirit him of the inquisitioun of Hiegait, he denyit the same quhile I shewed hym the very wordes was spokin. At quhilke tyme he sayd that Mynto had aduerteist hym that it was sayd that sum of the counsell had brought ane letter to me to be subscriuit to put hym in pressoun, and to slay hym if he made resistence. And he askit the same at Mynto hymselfe, quho aunswerit that he beleuit the same to be true. The morne I will speake to hym vppoun thys point. As to the rest of willie Hiegaites he confessit it, but it was the morne after my cumming or he did it. He wald very faine that I should lodge in hys lodging, I refusit it, and sayd to hym that he behouit to be purgeit, and that could not be done here, he sayd to me I heare say ye haue brought ane lytter wyth you, but I had rather haue passit wyth you. I trow he beleuit that I would haue sent hym away presoner: I aunswerit that I woulde take hym with me to Cragmillar quhair the medicinar and I myght helpe hym, and not be farre from my sonne, he aunswerit that he was reddie quhen I pleasit, so I would assure him of hys request, he desires no body to see hym, he is an-

gry when I speake of Walcar, and sayis that he shall plucke the eares out of hys head, and that he lyes. For I inquirit him vpoun that, and that he was angry wyth sum of the Lordis & would threten tham, he denies that & sayis he luifs tham all, & prayes me to geue trust to nathing against him, as to me he wald rather geue hys life or he did any displesure to me. And after thys he shewd me of so many little flatteries, so couldly, & so wyelie, that ye will abash thereat. I had almaist forgot that he sayd he could not doubt of me in this purpois of Hiegaittis, for he would neuer belene that I quho was his proper flesh would do hym any euill, allweill it was schawin that I refusit to subscriue the same: but as to any vthers that would pursue him at least he should sell hys life deare enough, but he suspectit no body nor yit would not, but would luif all that I infit, he would not let me depart fro hym but desirit that I shoulde wake wyth him, I make it seeme that I belene that all is true, & takes heed thereto, and excusit my selfe for this night that I could not wake, he sayes that he sleepes not well, ye saw him neuer better nor speike mair humblier. And if I had not a pruif of hys hart of waxe, and that mine were not of ane Dyamont, quhairintill no shot can make breach, but that quhilk

comes

comes forth of your hand, I would haue almaist had pitie of hym. But feare not, the place shall holde vnto the death. Remēber in recumpēce therof that ye suffer not yours to be wonne by that false race that wil trauell no lesse with you for the same. I beleue thay haue bene at scholis together, he hes euer the tear in his eye, he salutes euery body, yea vnto ẏ least, and makes pitious caressing vnto them to make them haue pitie on hym. Thys day hys father bled at the mouth & nose, gesse quhat presaige that is. I haue not yit sene hym, he keepes hys chamber. The kyng desires that I should geue hym meate wyth my owne handes. But geue na mair trust quhair you are thā I shall do here. This is my first iorney, I shall end ẏ same to morrow. I write all thynges, howbeit thay be of littill weight, to the end that ye may take the best of all to iudge vpon. I am in doing of a werke here that I hait greatly. Haue ye not desire to laugh to see me lie so weill, at the least to dissembill so weill and to tell hym truth betuix handes. He shewd me almaist all that is in the name of the byschop and Suderland, and yit I haue neuer toucheit aue word of that ye shewd me, but allanelie by force flattering, and to pray hym to assure hymselfe of me. And by playning on the byschop I haue drawen it all out of hym.

ye haue heard the reſt. We are coupled wyth twa falſe races, the deuill ſunder vs, and God knitte vs together for euer for the maiſt faythfull couple that euer he vnitid. This is my fayth I wyll die in it. Excuſe if I writ euill, ye may geſſe the halfe of it, but I can not mende it becauſe I am not weill at eaſe, and yit very glad to writ vnto you quhen the reſt are ſleepand, ſithe I can not ſleipe as thay do and as I would deſire, that is, in your armes my deare loue, quhom I pray God to preſerue from all euyll and ſend you repoſe, I am gangand to ſeke myne till the morne quhen I ſhall end my Bybill, but I am faſcheit that it ſtoppies me to writte newis of my ſelf vnto you, becauſe it is ſo lang. Aduertiſe me quhat ye haue deliberat to do in the matter ye know vppon thys point, to the end that we may vnderſtand vthers weill, that nothing thairthrough be ſpilt. I am irkit & ganging to ſleipe, and yit I ceaſe not to ſcrible all thys paper inſamickle as reſtis thairof. Waryed might this pokkiſh mã be ẏ cauſes me haue ſa mickle paine: for without him I ſhold haue ane far pleſander ſubiect to diſcours vpoun. He is not ouermickle diformit, yet he hes receiued veric mickle. He hes almaiſt ſlayne me with his breth, it is werſe thẽ your vncles, & yet I cum na nerar vnto him but

in

in ane chayre at the beds fute, and he beyng at the vther end thairof.

The massage of the father in the gait.

The purpois of Sir Iames Hammeltoun.

Of that the Lord of Lusse shewd me of the delay.

Of the demaundis that he askit at Ioachim.

Of my estait, of my cumpany, of the occasioun of my cumming, and of Ioseph.

Item, the purpois that he and I had together.

Of the desire that he hes to please me, and of hys repentance.

Of the interpretatioun of his letter.

Of willie Hiegaittis matter of hys departing.

Of Monseur de Leuingstoun.

I had almost forgot that Monsier de Leuingstoun sayd in the Lady Reres eare at suppar, that he wald drink to the folke that I wist of, if I wald plege thame. And eftir suppar he sayd to me quhen I wes leuand vpoun hym warming me at the fyre: ye haue fayr going to se sik folk, yit ye can not be sa welcum to thame, as ye left sum body this day in regrait, that will neuir be blyth quhill he se you againe. I askit at hym, quha that wes? with that he thrustit my body and sayd, that sum of hys folkes

had seene you in falcherie, ye may gesse at the rest. I wrought thys day quhill it wes twa houris vpoun thys bracelet, for to put the key of it wythin the lock thereof, quhilk is coupled vndirneth with twa cordwinis. I haif had sa littill time that it is euill mayd: but I sall mak ane fairer in the meane tyme. Take heid that nane that is heir se it, for all the warld will knaw it; because for haist it wes maid in thair presence. I am now passād to my falsehious purpoes. Ye gar me dissemble sa far that I haif horring thairat: and ye cause me do almost the office of a traitores. Remember how gif it wer not to obey you, I had rather be deid or I dyd it: my hart bleides at it. Summa, he will not come with me except vpoun conditioun that I will promeise to him that I sall be at bed and bourde with hym as of before, and that I sall leaue him na ostar; and doing thys vpoun my worde he will do all thingis that I pleis, and cum with me: bot he hes prayit me to remane vpoun hym quhill vther morne. He spake verie brauely at the beginning, as thys bearar will schaw you, vpoun the purpois of the Inglismen, and of hys departing: bot in the end he returnit agane to hys humilitie. He schewit amangis vther purposes that he knew weill anewch, that my bruther had schewin

win me that thing quhilk he had ſpoken in Striueling: of the quhilk he denyis the ane half, and aboue all, that euir he cum in his chamber. For to make him traiſt me it behouit me to fayne in ſum thingis with him: therfoyr quhen he requeſtit me to promeiſe vnto him, that quhē he wes hail we ſould haif both ane bed. I ſayd to him, fayningly and making me to beleue his promiſis, that gif he changit not purpoſis betuix this and that time, I wald be content therewith, bot in the meane tyme I bad him take heid that he let na body wit thereof: becauſe to ſpeike amangis our ſelfis the Lordis could nat be offendit, nor wyll euill thairfoyr. But they wald feire in reſpect of the boaſting he mayd of tham, that if euir we aggreic togidder, he ſhould make tham know the litil compt thay tuke of him: and that he counſalliit me not to purches ſum of tham by him: thay for thys caus wald be in ieloſy, gif attanis without thayr knawlege, I ſould bricke the play ſet vp in the contrair in thayr preſence. He ſayd very ioyfully: And thinke you thay will eſteime you the mayr of that: bot I am very glad that you ſpeike to me of the Lordis, for I beleue at thys time ye deſire that we ſhold ieif togidder in quietnes: for gif it wer vtherwayis greitter inconnenience might come to vs baith

than we are ware of: But now I will do quhat euir ye will do, and will lufe all that ye lufe, and delyres you to make thame lufe in like maner: for sithe thay seeke nat my lyfe, I lufe thame al equally. Upoun this poynt this berar will schew you many small thinges. Becaus I haif ouer mikle to write, and it is lait, I gief traist vnto him vpon your word. Summa, he will ga vpoun my word to all places. Alas, I neuir deceiuit any body: but I reuit me altogidder to your will. Send me aduertisement quhat I sall do, and quhatsoeuer thing sall come thereof I sall obey you. Aduise to with your self if ye can finde out ony mair secrete inuentioun by medicine: for he should take medicine and the bath at Cragmillar. He may not cum forth of the house this laug time. Summa, by all that I can lerne, he is in greit suspicioun: and yit notwithstanding he geiues credeit to my word: bot yit not so farre that he will schew any thing to me. Bot neuirtheless I sall draw it out of him, gif ye will that I anow all vnto hym. Bot I wil neuir reioyce to diffame ony body that trustis in me: yit notwithstāding ye may commaund me in all thingis. Haue no euill opinioun of me for that caus, by reason ye are the occasioun of it your selfe, because for my awin parciculer reuenge I

wald

wald not do it to him. He geues me sum checkes of that quhilk I feirit yea euen in the quicke, he sayis thys far, that hys faultis were publeist, bot thare is that committis faultis that beleues thay wil neuir be spoken of, and yit thay will speike of greit and small. As towart the Lady Reres he sayd, I pray God that sche may serue you for your honor. And sayd, it is thought and he beleuis it to be trew, that I haif not the power of my selfe into my selfe, and that because of the refuse I maid of his offeris. Sūma, for certantie he suspects of the thing ye knaw, and of hys lyif. But as to the last, how sone that I spake two or thre gude wordis vnto hym, he reioysis & is out of dout. I saw him not this euening for to end your bracelet, to the quhilke I cā get no lokkis, it is reddy to tham, and yet I feare that it will bring some malheur, and may be seene if ye chaunce to be hurt. Aduertise me if ye will haue it, and if ye will haue mair siluer, and quhen I shall returne, & how far I may speake. He inragis quhen he hearis of Lethington, or of you, or of my brother. Of your brother he speikis nathyng, he spekis of the Erle of Ergyle. I am in feir quhen I heare him speike: for he assuris him self that he hes not ane euill opinioun of him. He speikes nathing of tham that is out nouther gude nor euil,

but fleis that point. His fader kepis his chamber, I haif not ſeene him. All the Hammiltonis ar heir, that accompaneis me verie honorably. All the frendis of the vther conueyis me quhen I gang to ſe him. He deſiris me to come, and ſee him ryſe the morne betime. For to make ſchort, this berar will tell you the reſt. And if I learne any thing heir, I wyll make you memoriall at euin. He wyll tell you the occaſioun of my remaining. Burne this letter, for it is ouir dangerous, and na thing well ſayd in it: for I am thinkand vpoun nathing but falſcherie. If you be in Edinburgh at the receit of it, lend me word ſone. Be not offendit, for I gief not ouir greit credeit. Now ſeyng to obey you, my deir luſe, I ſpare nouther honor, conſcience, hazarde, nor greitnes quhatſumeuir, take it I pray you in gude pairt: and not eſtir the interpretation of your falſe gude brother: to quhome I pray you gyif na credit, aganis the maiſt faithfull luſſar that euir ye had, or euir ſall haif.

Huntley.

Se nat hir quhaies faynit teares ſhould nat be ſa mickle prayſit nor eſteemit, as the trew and faythfull trauails, quhilke I ſuſtayne for to merite hir place. For obtayning of the quhilke agains my naturall, I betrayis thame that may impeſche me. God forgyif me, and God gyif you my onely luſe the hap and proſperitie

Bothwels owne wife.

ſperitie, quhilk your humble and fayth-
full luif deſiris vnto you, quha hopis to
be ſhortlie ane vther thyng to you for
the rewart of my trawlum trauellis. It is
lait, I deſire neuir to ceiſſe fra writyng
vnto you, yit now after the kiſſing of
your hands I wil end my letter. Excuſe
my euill writing and read it twiſe ouer.
Excuſe that thing that is ſcribled, for
I had no paper yeſterday quhē I wrait
that of the memoriall. Remember vp-
pon your luif, and write vnto hyr, and
that verie oft. Loue me as I ſal do you.
Remember you of the purpoes of the
Lady Rerrs.
Of the Inglismen.
Of his moder.
Of the Erle of Argile.
Of the Erle Bothuile.
Of the lugeing in Edinbrough.

Another letter to Bothwell con-cernyng certaine tokens that ſhe ſent hym.

MOnſieur ſi l'ennuy de voſtre abſence, celuy de voſtre oubly, la crainte du danger, tant prouué d'vn chacun à voſtre tant aymée perſonne. &c.

MY Lord if the diſpleaſure of your abſence, of your forgetfulnes, the feir of danger ſo promiſit by euery one

to your ſo lonit perſon, may gif me conſolation, I leif it to you to iudge, ſeyng the vnhap that my cruell lot & cõtinuall miſaduenture, hes hitherto promiſit me followyng the miſfortunes and feares alweill of lait as of a lang tyme bypaſt, the quhilke you do knaw. But for all that I will in no wyſe accuſe you, nouther of your litle remembrance nouther of your litle cair, and leaſt of all of your promiſe broken, or of the toldnes of your writyng, ſince I am ellis ſo far maid yours, that that quhilk pleaſis you is acceptable to me, & my thoghtes are ſo willyngly ſubduit vnto yours, that I ſuppois that all that commeth of you, procedis nat by any of the cauſis forſayd, but rather for ſic as be iuſt and reaſonable and ſic as I deſire my ſelfe. Quhilk is the final order that you promiſit to take, for the ſuretie and honorabill ſeruice of the onely vphold of my lyfe. For quhilk alone I will preſerue the ſame, and without the quhilk I deſire nat bot ſuddain daith. And to teſtifie vnto you quhow lawlie I ſubmit me vnder your commaundements, I haue ſend you in ſigne of homage by Paris the ornament of the hed quhilk is the chief guide of the vther members. Inferring thairby that by the faiſyng of you in the poſſeſſioun of the ſpoile of that quhilk is principall the remnãt can

A head.

not

not be bot subiect vnto you, and with consentyng of the hart, In place quhair of since I haue ellis left it vnto you, I send vnto you one sepulture of hard stone collourit with blake, sawin with teares and bones. The stone I compare to my hart that as it is caruit in one sure sepulture or harbor of your commandementes and aboue all of your name and memorie, that are thairin inclosit as is my hear in this ryng neuer to come forth, quhile death graunt vnto you to ane trophee of victorie of my bones as the ring is fullit, in signe that you haue maid ane full conquest of me, of myne hart, and vnto that my bones be left vnto you in remẽbraunce of your victorie and my acceptable luif and willyng, for to be better bestowit then I merite. The amelyng that is about is blake, quhilk signifijs the stedfastnes of hir that sendeth the same. The teares are without number, so are the dreadoures to displeis you, the teares of your absence, the disdaine that I cã not be in outwart effect yours as I am without feintnes of hart and sprite, and of gude reason though my merites wer mekle greater then of the maist profite that euer was, and sic as I desire to be, and sall take payne in cõditions to imitate, for to be bestowit worthylie vnder your regiment. My onely wealth re-

The Quenis hear.

saue thairfoir in as gude part the same as I haue reçeaued your mariage with extreme ioy, ẏ quhilk shal not part forth of my bosom quhile that mariage of our bodies be maid in publik, as signe of all that I either hope or desiris of blis in this warld. Yit my hart fearyng to displease you, as mikle in the reading hereof, as I delite me in the writyng, I will make end, after that I haue kissit your handes with as greit affectioun as I pray God (O the onely vphold of my lyfe) to gif you lang & blissit life, and to me your gude fauour as the onelie gude that I desire & to the quhilk I pretend. I haue shawin vnto this bearer that quhilk I haue learnit, to quhom I remit me, knawand the credite that you gaif hym as she doth that will be for euir vnto you humble and obedient law full wife that for euir dedicates vnto you hir hart, hir bodie, without any change as vnto hym that I haue maid possessour of hart, of quhilk you may hold you assurit that vnto the deith sall na wayes be eschangit for euill nor gud sall neuir make me goe from it.

¶ An other letter to Bothwell of her loue to him.

I Ay veillé plus tard la haut que ie n'eusse fait, si ce n'eust esté pour tirer ce que ce por-

porteur vous dira, que ie treuue la plus belle commodité pour excuſer voſtre affaire qui ce pourroit preſenter. &c.

I Haue wakit laiter thairvp then I wald haue done, if it had nat bene to drawe ſum thyng out of hym, quhilk this bearer will ſhew you, quhilke is the fayreſt commoditie, that can be offerit to excuſe your affairis. I haue promiſit to bring him to him the morne. Put order vnto it if ye finde it gude. Now Syr. I haue broken my promiſe becauſe ye commaundit me nouther to write nor ſend vnto you: yit I haif not done this to offend you. And if ye knew the feire that I haif preſently, ye wald not haif ſa many contrairie ſuſpiciounis in your thought, quhilk notwithſtanding I treate and chereiſh as procedyng fro the thing in the world that I maiſt deſier and ſekis faſteſt to haif, quhilk is your gude grace. Of the quilk my behaviour ſhall aſſure me: as to me I ſhall neuir diſpayr of it. And prayis you accordyng to your promeis to diſcharge your hart vnto me: otherwayis I will think that my malheur and the gude handlyng of hir that hes not the thirde pairt of the faythfull nor willing obedience vnto you that I beir, hes wonne aganis my will that auauntage ouer me, quhilk the ſecond loue of Jaſon wan. Not that I

will compare you to ane sa vnhappy as he was, nor yit my selfe to ane sa vnpitiful a woman as sche. Howbeit ye cans me to be sumquhat like vnto hyr in any thing that touchis you, or that may preserue and keip you vnto hir, to quhome onely ye appertaine: if it be sa that I may appropriate that quhilk is wonne through faythfull yea onely luffing of you, as I do and sall do all the dayes of my lyfe, for payne or euill that can cume thairof. In recompense of the quhilk & of all the euils quhilk ye haue ben cause of to me, remember you vpō the place heir beside. I craue with that ye keepe promise to me the morne, but ỳ we may meit together, and that ye geue na fayth to suspitiouns without the certauntie of thaim. And I craue na vther thyng at God but that ye may know that thyng that is in my hart quhilke is yaurs, and that he may preserue you from all euill, at the least sa lang as I haue life, quhilk I repute not precious vnto me except in sa farre as it and I baith are agreabill vnto you, I am going to bed, and will bid you gude night. Aduertise me tymely in the morning how ye haue faren, for I will be in payne vnto I get word. Make gude watch if the burd eschaip out of the caige or without hir mate, as the turtur I shall remayne alone for to lament the absence how

schort

schort that soeuer it be. This letter will do with a gude hart, that thyng quhilk I can not do my selfe, if it be not that I hanc feare that ye are in sleeping. I durst nat write this before Joseph, Bastian and Joachim, that did but depart euin quhen I began to write.

¶ An other letter to Bothwell cõcernyng the departure of Margarete Carwood, quho was priuie and a helper of all thair loue.

MOn cœur helas! fault il que la follie d'vne femme, dont vous cognoissez assez l'ingratitude vers moy, soit cause de vous donner desplaisir. &c.

My hart, Alas, must the follie of a woman, quhose vnthankfulnes toward me you do sufficiently knaw, be occasioun of displeasure vnto you? considering that I cauld nat hane remedyit thairunto without knawing it? And since that I perceaued it, I cauld nat tell it you, for that I knew nat how to gouerne my selfe thairin. For nouther in that, nor in any vther thyng, will I take vpon me to do any thyng without knawledge of your will. Quhilk I beseth you let me vnderstand, for I will follow it all my lyfe, mair willyngly thē

you ſhall declare it to me. And if you do nat ſend me word this night what you will that I ſhall do, I will ridde my ſelf of it, and haſard to cauſe it to be enterpriſit and taken in hand, Quhilk might be hurtfull to that quhairunto both we do tend. And when ſhe ſhall be maried, I beſech you giue me one, or els I will take ſic as ſhall cõtent you for their conditions, but as for thair tounges or faithfulnes towart you, I will nat anſwere. I beſech you that an opinioun of vther perſoun, be nat hurtfull in your minde to my conſtancie. Miſtruſt me, but quhen I will put you out of doubt and clere my ſelfe. Refuſe it nat my dere life, & ſuffer me to make you ſome profe by my obedience, my faithfulnes, conſtancie & voluntarie ſubiectioun, quhilk I take for the pleaſanteſt gude that I might receaue, if you will accept it, and make no ceremony at it, for you could do me na greater outrage, nor giue mair mortall greefe.

¶ An other letter ſent from Stereline to Bothwell concernyng the practiſe for hir rauiſhment.

MOnſieur helas pourquoy eſt voſtre fiance miſe en perſõne ſi indigne, pour ſoupçonner ce qui eſt entierement voſtre. I'enrage, vous m'auiez promis. &c.

Alas

ALas, my Lord. why is your truſt put in a perſõ ſo vnworthy, to miſtruſt that which is wholly yours? I am woodde. You had promiſit me that you would reſolue all, and that you would ſend me word euery day quhat I ſhould doe, you haue done nothing thairof. I aduertiſit you well to take heede of your falſe brother in law: he came to me, and without ſhewing me any thing frõ you, told me that you had willit him to write to you that that I ſhould ſay, & quhaire and quhan you ſhould cum to me, and that that you ſhould do touchand hym, and thereuppon hath preachit vnto me that it was a fooliſhe enterpriſe, & that with mine honour I could neuer marry you, ſeing that being maryed you did carry me away, & that his folkes would not ſuffer it, and that the Lordis would vnſay themſelfis, and would deny that thay had ſayd. To be ſhort, he is all contrary. I tolde hym, that ſeing I was cum ſo farre, if you did not withdraw your ſelfe of your ſelfe, that no perſwaſioun nor deith it ſelfe ſhould make me fayle of my promiſe. As touching the place you are to negligent (pardon me) to remit your ſelfe thereof vnto me. Chuſe it your ſelfe, and ſend me worde of it. And in the meane tyme I am ſicke, I wil differre, as touching the matter it is to late. It was not long of me that

you haue not thought therupõ in tiine. And if you had not mair chaungit your mynde since myne absence than I haue, you shoulo not be now to aske such resoluing. Well there wanteth nothing of my part, and seing that your necligence doth put vs baith in the daunger of a false brother, if it succeede not well, I wyil neuer rise agayne. I send this bearer vnto you for I dare not trust your brother with these letters nor with the diligence. He shall tell you in quhat stait I am, and iudge you quhat amendment these new ceremonies haue brocht vnto me. I would I wer deid, for I see all goeth ill. You promisit vther manner of matter of your forseyng, but absence hath power ouer you, quho haue twa stringis to your bow. Dispatch the aunswere, that I fayle not, and put no trust in your brother for this enterprise, for he hath tolde it, and is also all against it. God geue you gude nicht.

In other wise.

¶ An vther letter to Bothwell for the practise and deuise to excuse the rauishyng.

DV lieu & de l'heure ie m'en rapporte à voſtre frere & à vous, ie le ſuiuray & ne fauldray en rien de ma part. Il trouue beaucoup de difficultez. &c.

Of

OF the place and the time, I remitte my selfe to your brother and to you. I will folow him, and will fayle in na thing of my pairt. He findeth many difficulties: I thinke he doth aduertise you thereof: and quhat he desireth for the handling of him selfe. As for the handling of my selfe: I heard it once well deuisit. He thinketh that your seruices, and the long amitie, hauing the gude wyll of the Lordes, do well deserue a pardon, if aboue the duetie of a Subiect you aduaunce your self, not to constrain me, but to assure your selfe of such place nigh vnto me, that vther admonitions or forraine persuasions may not let me from consenting to that that you hope your seruice shall make you one day to attayne: and to be schort, to make your selfe sure of the Lordes, and free to marry: and that you are constraynit for your surety, and to be abill to serue me faithfully, to vse an humble requeste, ioynit to an importune action. And to be short, excuse your selfe, and perswade them the most you cā, that you are constraynit to make poursute aganis your enemies. You shall say enough, if the matter or ground do like you, and many fayre wordes to Ledinton. If you like not the deede, send me worde, and leaue not the blaine of all vnto me.

¶An vther letter to Bothwell of the practiſe for hir rauiſhement and to aduiſe hym to be ſtrang to do it.

MOnſieur depuis ma lettre eſcrit voſtre beau frere qui fuſt, eſt venu à moy fort triſte, & m'a demandè mon conſeil de ce qu'il feroit apres demain. &c.

MY Lord, ſince my letter writtin, your brother in law that was, cam to me very ſad, and hath aſkeit me my counſaile, quhat he ſhould do after to morrow, becauſe there be many folkis here, and among vtheris the Erle of Southerland, quho wald rather dye, conſidering the gude they haif ſa lately receiuit of me, than ſuffer me to be caryit away, they conducting me: and that he fearit there ſhould ſum trouble happen of it: of the vther ſide that it ſhould be ſayd that he wer vnthankfull to haif betrayit me. I told him that he ſhold haif reſoluid with you vpon all that: & that he ſhould auoyde, if he could, thoſe that wer moſt miſtruſtit. He hath reſolued to write thereof to you by my opiniom: for he hath abaſſhit me to ſee him ſa vnreſoluit at the neid. I aſſure my ſelfe, he will play the pairt of an honeſt man. But I haue thought good to aduertiſe you of the feare he hath that he ſhould

be

be chargeit and accusit of treson, to the ende that without mistrusting him, you may be the more circumspect, and that you may haif the more power. For we had yisterday more then iij. C. horse of his, and of Leniston. For the honour of God be accumpanyit rather wyth more then lesse: for that is the principal of my caire. I goe to write my dispatch, and pray God to send vs a happy enterview schortly. I write in hast to the ende you may be aduisit in time.

¶ Of the Billes of proclamatioun and combat, set vp by Bothwell and the aunsweres.

IMmediatly after the death of the kyng quho was murtherit and hys house blowen vp with gonnepoulder the ix. day of February in the night. 1567. Proclamatioun was made that quhosoeuer could bewray the murtherers of the king should haue two thousand pound. Unto the quhilk proclamatioun, reply was made and set vp priuely vpoun the tolbuith dore of Edenburgh the 16. of February in this maner.

Bycause proclamatioun is made that quhosoeuer will reueale the mur-

ther of the kyng ſhall haue two thouſand pound, I quho haue made inquiſitioun by them that were the doers therof, affirme that the committers of it were the Erle Bothwell, M. James Balfoure, the Perſoun of Fliſk, M. Dauy Chambers, Blacke M. John Spence quho quhas principall deuiſer of the murther, and the quene aſſentyng thairto through the perſuaſioun of the Erle Bothwell, and the witchcraft of the Lady Bucklowgh.

If this be not true ſpere at Gilbert Bawfoord

Upon this, new proclamation was made the ſame day, deſiryng the letter vp of the ſayd Bill to come and auowe and ſubſcribe the ſame, and he ſhould haue the ſumme promiſit in the firſt proclamatioun, and further accordyng to his abilitie, and ſight of the quene, and hir counſell.

The aunſwere thereunto was ſet vp in the place aforeſayd, the morrow after, being the xix. of the ſame month.

FOraſmekle as proclamatioun hath bene made ſince the ſettyng vp of my firſt letter, deſiryng me to ſubſcribe, and auow the ſame, For aunſwer, I deſire the mony to be conſig-

nit

nit into an euenly mans hand, and I ſhall compeire on Monday nerte with iiij. ſome with me, and ſubſcribe my firſt letter, and abide therat. And further I deſire that Senior Frauncis, Baſtian, and Joſeph the quenes goldſmith be ſtayit, and I ſhall declaire quhat euery man did in particuler, with their complices.

To quhilk bill none aunſwer was made.

The xiiij. day of Apryll the Erle Bothwell commyng to the Seſſions at Edenburgh with anteſigne diſplaide & the ſtreetes full of armed men of hys factioun, was arreynit for the murther of the kyng, and acquit of the ſame by a pariurde iury: quhairupon he ſet vp a challenge to fight hand to hand with any man (beyng no perſon diffamed) that wald auow the matter. Hereunto aunſwere was made by an vther Bill ſet vp in the ſame place anone after. That for aſmickle as the ſayd Erle Bothwell had ſet vp a writyng ſubſcribed with his awne hand, quhairby he dyd chalenge any man (nat diffamed) that would or durſt ſay

he was giltie of the kyngs death, and therwithal did giue the ly in his throte to him that wald auouch the quarell: a gentleman & a man of gude fame did by those presentes accept the offer and offers, and wald proue by the law of armes that he was the chefe author of that foule and horrible murther, albeit an inquest for feare of death had slyghtly quyte hym. And bycause the kyng of Fraunce and the quene of England had by thair Ambassadours desired that tryall and punischement might be had for the same, he maist hartily thairfoir craued of thair Maiesties, that thay wald desire of the quene hys souereine, that by hir consent thay might appoynt the day and place within their dominions for the triall therof accordyng to the law of armes, in thair presences or in thair deputies. Quhilk day & place he promised by the faith of a gentlemã to appeare at, and to do his deuoyre, prouided alwayes that thair Maiesties by open proclamatioun shall giue assurance to hym and to hys companie, to passe and repasse through thair countryes, without hurt or impediment.

Quhat

Quhat iuſt cauſe he had to deſire the kyng of Fraunce and the quene of England to be iudges in the caſe, he remitted to the iugement of the readers and the hearers, warnyng by thoſe preſentes the reſt of the murtherers to prepare them ſelues, for thay ſhould haue the lyke offer made vnto them, and thair names giuen in wrytyng that thay might be knawin to all men.

¶The confeſſioun of Iohn Habroun, Young Talla, Dagleiſh and Pourie, vpon quhom was Iuſtice execute the 3. of Ianuarie, the yeare of God. 1567

IOhn of Bowton confeſſit that nyne was at the deid doing, my L. Bothwell, the Lord of Drumiſtoun, Hob Drumiſtoun, himſelf, Talla, Dagleiſh, Wilſon, Pourie, and French Paris, and that he ſaw na moe, nor knew of na vther companies.

Item, he knowis nat vther but that that he was blowin in the ayre, for he was handillit with na mens handes as he ſaw, and if he was it was with vthers and not with tham.

Item, as touching Sir Iames Balfour, he ſaw not his ſubſcriptioun, but

I warrand you he was the principall counsallar and deuiser.

Item, he sayd, I confesse it is the veray providence of God that hes brought me to his iudgement, for I am led to it as an horse to the stall, for I had schippis prouidit to flie but could not escape.

Item he sayd, let no man do euill for counsell of great men, or thair maysters, thinking thay shall saue tham, for surely I thought that night that the deid was done, that although knowledge should bene gotten, na man durst haue sayde it was euill done, seing the hand writtis and acknowledging the Quenis minde thairto.

Item speaking of the Quene in the Tolbuith he sayd, God make all weill, but the langer deirt is hydden it is the stronger. Quho lues, our daithes will thought na newis.

Item, hinmest he confessit, he was ane of the principall doers of the daith, and thairfoir is iustly worthy of daith, but he was assurit of the mercy of God, quho callit him to repentance.

ITem Talla confessit *vt supra*, agreing in all pointes as concerning the parsons, number, and blowing in the ayre.

Item, he affirmit that in Setoun my Lord Bothwell callit on him and sayd,

quhat

quhat thought you quhen thou ſaw him blowen in the ayre. Quho aunſwerit, alas my Lord quhy ſpeake ye that, for quhē euer I heare ſic a thing, the words wound me to death, as thay ought to do you.

Item, that ſame tyme he ſaw Syr James Balfour put in his owne name and his brothers vnto my Lord Bothwelles remiſſioun.

Item he knew of the deid doing three or foure dayes or it was done or therby.

Item he ſayd, after that I came to the court I left the reading of Gods worde and imbraſit vanitie, and thairfoir hes God iuſtly brought this on me.

Quhairfoir let all men flee euill cumpany, and to truſt not in mē, for redy are we to imbrace euil as redy as hardes to receaue fyre. And further in the Tolbuith he requirit Iohn Brande miniſter of the congregation to paſſe to my Lord Lind ſay, & ſay, my Lord hartily I forgeue your L. and als my Lord Regent and all vthers, but ſpecially thaim that betrayit me to you, for I know if ye could haue ſauit me ye would, deſiring you as ye will aunſwere before God in the latter day to do your diligence to bring the reſt quho was the beginners of this worke to iuſtice, as ye haue done to me, for ye know it was not begunne in my head, but yit prayſes God that his

iuſtice hes begunne at me, by the quhilk he hes callit me to repentaunce.

ITem Dagliſhe ſayd, as God ſhall be my iudge I knew nothing of the kinges daith befoir it was done, for my Lord Bothwell gangand to his bedde after the taking of of his hoſe, quhilke was ſtockit with veluet, Frenth Paris cunn and roundit with him, & thairefter he taryed on me for vther hoſe and claithis, & his riding cloke and ſworde, quhilke I gaue him, & hereſter cum vp the gait to the Lord of Ormiſtouns lodging & taryit for him, and thereafter that he paſſit to anc wynd beſide the blacke Fryers, and cum to the ſlope of the dike quhaire he gart me ſtand ſtill, and as God ſhalbe my iudge I knew nathing quhill I heard the blaſt of powder, and after this he cum hame, lay downe in his beid, quhill M. George Hakit cum and knockit at the dooze, and if I dye for this, the quhilke God iudge me gif I knew maire, quhat ſhalbe done to tham quho was the deuiſers, counſallars, ſubſcriuers, and foztifiers of it?

(:;)

Now iudge Engliſchmen if it be gud to change Quenis.

O vnityng confounding.

Quhen rude Scotlãd hes vomited vp ane poiſoun, muſt fine England lick it vp for a reſtoratiue?

O vile indignitie.

Quhile your Quenis enemy liueth, hir dangir cõtinueth. Deſperate neceſsitie wyll dare the vttermoſt.

O cruell mercie.

O ambitioun fed with proſperitie, ſtrẽgthned with indulgence, irritated with aduerſitie, not to be neglected, truſted, nor pardouned.